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A Personal Triumph For González in Spain

Charmed Again by a Familiar Leader, Voters Shied Away From the Unknown

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

MADRID — With the domestic economy in a slump, the Socialist Party muddled by corruption scandals and the electorate tired of the same old faces, Spain's conservative opposition seemed to have had everything going for it.

Yet, in the end, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez again demonstrated his ability to charm Spanish waters by winning his fourth sprocessive.

Spanish voters by winning his fourth successive general election

While the Socialists lost 16 seats in the 350member lower house of parliament, they none-theless emerged as the largest single party by a

NEWS ANALYSIS

much bigger margin over the conservative Pop-ular Party — 159 to 141 seats — than anyone had predicted. And, for that, Mr. González was given the credit.

As he returns to the mundane task of governing, he faces new complications, not least that, for the first time since he took office in 1982, the Socialists no longer control parliament. And before parliament convenes on June 29, he must choose between forming a minority or a coalition government

Both involve risks. Close aides say he would prefer a minority government that negotiates parliamentary support on a case-by-case basis. A coalition, in contrast, might be more stable. but it could force him to accept demands for greater regional autonomy by, say, Catalan or Basque nationalists.

In either case, his main task will be to tackle an economic crisis that is threatening to undermine the advances achieved during the boom years between 1985 and 1991. Yet, once again, with all of Europe's major economies currently

in trouble, he has no easy options.

During the campaign, Mr. González and José
Maria Aznar, the head of the conservative Popular Party, promised to reduce unemployment (which now stands at nearly 22 percent), and to revive economic growth (the economy is shrinking). But neither man detailed how he would do

If the Socialists defeated the Popular Party. then, it was more because the known prevailed over the unknown, with Mr. González able to convince many voters unhappy with his admin-istration that a rightist government might re-duce welfare benefits and pensions.

Financial markets, which were gambling on a change of government, responded calmly Mon-day to the Socialist victory, seeing it as a guar-antee that, despite three devaluations in nine months, the peseta will remain part of Europe's system of linked exchange rates. (Page 11)

The somewhat surprising election result will mean a more stable government than everyone had predicted." José Sevilla, a broker at FG Inversiones Bursatiles, said, recalling campaign polls showing the two parties neck-and-neck in the race. "This will mean the pesets will

With the finance minister, Carlos Solchaga Catalán, almost certain to be dismissed, the choice of a successor could also be crucial. "There is talk of naming an independent and that would be good news for the markets," said Jaime Smith, an analyst at the Benito y Monjardin brokerage house,

If Mr. González has won time to tackle the economy, however, the elections merely pa-pered over a deep rift inside his Socialist Party that the 51-year-old prime minister must now address. And, even outside the party, his re-sponse will be measured against his promise to clean up Spanish politics.

While old-style leftists in the party have often complained about the government's pro-business policies, corruption is at the center of the crisis, with one particular scandal over illegal party financing, which Mr. González said he learned about in newspapers, badly damaging the Socialists' image.

Now the question is whether Mr. González will use his enhanced prestige to carry out a thorough purge of the party with a view to preparing it for the future.



WAR PAINT — A Bosnian Serb in a special operations unit, applying camouflage before a mission against Broko. The Muslim-led government on Monday conditionally agreed to cooperate with United Nations forces on the safe-areas plan for Bosnia. Page 2.

Ukrainians **Assure Aspin** They Favor Nuclear Plan

ESTABLISHED 1887

U.S. Defense Secretary Proposes Removal and Storage of Warheads

> By R. Jeffrey Smith Washington Page Service

SHANNON, Ireland - Ukrainian officials responded favorably Monday to a U.S. sugges-tion that nuclear warheads on their territory be separated from the missiles that carry them and stored under international supervision in

The plan, presented in Kiev to the Ukrainian president, Leonid M. Kravchuk, and to the country's defense minister by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, is one of several new U.S. ideas aimed at heading off a dispute between Ukraine and Russia over control of the former Soviet warneads.

In addition to endorsing the storage plan in principle, the Ukrainians also welcomed Mr. Aspin's proposals for increasing U.S.-Ukrainian military contacts, helping improve conventional forces and mediating in other Ukraine-Russia security disputes, according to U.S.

The proposals — as well as Mr. Aspin's visit itself — are meant to persuade Ukrainians that they "have a hig friend" and can give up the nuclear warheads without sacrificing their national security, said a senior official traveling on Mr. Aspin's plane back to Washington. Storing the warheads under international su-

pervision, possibly with U.S. participation, would diminish tensions between the two countries by blocking any use of the warheads to threaten the other's security, officials said.
It would also complicate Ukraine's continu-

ing effort to keep open a nuclear option by trying to unlock Russian controls on the warheads and gain launch access to them.

U.S. officials said details of the storage plan remained to be worked out and that Washing-

ton must overcome Russian objections before it can be implemented.

The Russian defense minister, General Pavel

S. Grachev, told Mr. Aspin at a meeting earlier in Germany that be favored Ukraine's immediate and unconditional surrender of the war-

heads to Russia. The plan also could require approval of Ukraine's parhament, where a growing h of fegislation favor tilerane a consistent of its own nuclear arsenal.

Several legislators told Mr. Aspin in a private meeting in Kiev on Monday that they remained fearful of Russian designs on their country, and Mr. Aspin said afterward that it was "risky to

predict the outcome of a vote" on the weapons. Appearing at Mr. Aspin's side at a news conference here, the Ukrainian defense minister, Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, reit-

erated his support for the government's pledge that it would eventually become nonnuclear. He also said Mr. Aspin's expression of "understanding" for Ukrainian security concerns and his suggestion for resolving the warhead

problem had created a "positive attitude" that may influence the parliament's decision. Mr. Aspin, for his part, stressed that Washington believed that an independent and economically strong Ukraine was in the United States' best interests, a circumstance that he

said justified a "working relationship" between U.S. and Ukrainian military forces. He also tonk pains to praise the participation of Ukrainian troops in peacekeeping in the

former Yugoslavia, saying that Ukraine was "doing more than its fair share."

Officials said Mr. Aspin and General Morozov had agreed to let U.S. experts advise Ukraine on defense logistics, training, personnel and military medicine.

But he did not go so far as to suggest U.S. See UKRAINE, Page 6

Army and security forces are waging a brutal campaign of torture, terror and killings against militants fighting for independence. While militants also are accused of murders, whose tidy second-floor apartment overlooks the charred debris of Srinagar's main shopping area, Lal Chowk, Gova gun hattle between guerrillas and security forces. ernment forces burned more than 200 houses and shops See KASHMIR, Page 6

SPINAGAR India Margare India with the hadron on his way to his voltege chamber y fraits when indian security officers pulled him of a city bias, hauled him to an interrogation camp, accused him of being a terrorist and tortured him with repeated electric shocks.

The troops then drove Mr. Sultan, 19, to a deserted canal world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world have been because of the succession of the world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world have been because of the succession of the world has begin to escalate in the deceptively busolic world have been because and the succession of the suc

bank and leaned him against a tree, where, he recalled, five officers fired at him. Mr. Sultan crumpled to the ground, and one of the officers pumped three more bullets into his body. Two hours later, Indian security forces told the police

By Molly Moore and John Ward Anderson to retrieve the corpse of a militant who had been killed near rapes and other atrocities, residents say Indian troops are far there last month in retaliation for a guerrilla attack on an the changing part of the canal in the cross-fire of a gun battle.

SPINAGAR, Tionia of the state of the state of the corpse of a militant who had been killed near rapes and other atrocities, residents say Indian troops are far there last month in retaliation for a guerrilla attack on an empty military building.

There is no justice, no law and order, Mr. Sultan said at on his way to his voltage distribute fraids where he had undergone four part of the norities in dian state of lainma and Kashmir.

mountain valley of Kashmir, where residents say Indian

Many more civilians are dying than either military forces or rebels. According to records maintained by local journalists. lawyers and doctors, from 12,000 to 20,000 people have been killed in more than three years of violence.
"We are living in fear and terror," said Amina Nazir,

the Bone and . whi Hospital, where he has undergone four operations for the injuries he received April 8. "A security person can do what he wants to catch any person. I am not a militant. I just wanted to do my studies

Indian officials interviewed in New Delhi insisted that Mr. Sultan was a militant who was caught in the cross-fire of The battle over Muslim-dominated Kashmir has led to



ROYAL COUPLE - Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada chatting for photographers on the grounds of the palace that will be their residence after their wedding Wednesday. The 29-year-old future crown princess has been the subject of intense study by both the Japanese and foreign press in recent weeks. Page 6.

Kiosk

U.S. Tells Japan Envoy to Cut Surplus

WASHINGTON (WP) - The administra- from around the world if it was unable to tion called Monday on Japan to reduce its worldwide trade surplus dramatically over worldwide trade surplus dramatically over the next three to four years. It presented its message to Ambassador Takakazu Kuriyama

of Japan at the White House. U.S. officials warned that Japan would face increasingly severe economic pressures

Business/Finance Allen Loses Fight New rules for Latin Amer-For Child Custody

Woody Allen was demed custody of his three children on Monday by a New York judge who questioned his ability to ever be a fit parent. The children will remain with Mia Farrow, the filmmaker's former lover. (Page 6.)

The message to Japan was contained in a proposed "framework" for a new economic policy between the two countries. American and Japanese officials will meet Friday in Washington to begin discussions of the pro-

Dow Janes

Down

13.01

Page 14 ican stocks. Japan expects a recovery toward year-end. Page 15. General News A general is being investi-gated for allegedly having mocked Clinton. Page 3.

2,532.13 103.38 The Dollar New York Mon. clas D84 1.6195 1,6264 1,509 ~1*.*5225 107,725 107,105 Page 7.

Trib Index

Up 🐪

GE Lights a Painful Path to Prosperity

By Lawrence Malkin nional Herald Tribune

India's Dirty New War: Chilling Tales of Atrocities From Kashmir

NEW YORK -- When Frank Doyle was the boss of General Electric's labor relations early in the 1980s, the company was a bureaucratic

GE had 29 pay grades and 12 layers of management. Its managers used to visit each other's offices with their heads cocked slightly aloft, counting ceiling tiles. That told them their relative office size and thus their rank in the corporate hierarchy.

Now, Mr. Dovle says from his perch as executive vice president. GE has only five broad and flexible pay bands, top management is separated from the shop floor by only five levels, and the executives gather to talk about overhauling work practices at freewheeling sessions that resemble New England town meet-

GE overhauled uself ahead of the curve, because, as Mr. Doyle says, "you have to do it early, when you have the money." But still, it

Starting Over Restructuring businesses and economies. 9th and 10th in a series of articles.

Page 11: Italy's Pirelli cleans house. was so painful that GE's boss, Jack Welch, became known as "Neutron Jack" because he fired so many employees, seemingly leaving

GE's buildings standing empty.

Traditionally self-renewing — GE is the only one of the original 30 companies that is still a

age - it has gone where General Motors, IBM and others in the United States and around the world will have to go to survive. Focused on high technology, twice as big in evenue, three times as profitable and at least rwice as productive as it was before, GE also is

about 115,000 workers smaller, having shed more jobs during the past decade than it did in Management gurus, business and social analysts, and especially politicians who have been

watching the profits of corporations recover along with the U.S. economy call this condition "jobless prosperity." They agree that it will be the most vexing socioeconomic phenomenon of

See GE, Page 13

Brazen Landing Is Edge of Chinese Immigrant Wave

New York Times Service NEW YORK - The freighter that ran aground off New York City's Rockaway Beach was part of a recent surge of illegal Chinese immigrants who have made their way by boat to Hawaii, California, Guatemala, Florida and now, for what is believed to be the first time.

the shores of New York. About 200 Chinese were on the vessel, and eight of them died after they jumped into the water when it ran aground.

Why the immigrants on the freighter Golden Venture chose a tortuous route that took them around the Cape of Good Hope and north again into the cold waters of the North Atlan-tic is not clear, but officials said that a highly organized network of smugglers around the world probably provided assistance in stops

The increase in the number of boats with Chinese aboard intercepted in American waters in recent months has coincided with a sudden, sharp increase in the number of Clin-

along the way.

nese who turn up at immigration offices to seek asylum, officials said.

"The number of Chinese that have applied for asylum has grown astronomically in the last few months," said Gregg A. Beyer, director of asylum at Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, "These are people who are already in the United States," he said, "We don't know how or when they got here, if they got in legally or if they were smuggled in." At the immigration service's Newark office.

for example, 2,853 Chinese applied for politi-

cal asylum in April and May, more than the total number of Chinese applicants in all of 1992, Mr. Beyer said. In October, he said, 186 Chinese applied for asylum in Newark; in May the number was 1,560. Figures for New York

Since August 1991, bortloads of Chinese immigrants have made their way to the United States, most of them in search of economic opportunities that do not exist at home, offi-

See SMUGGLE, Page 6

Carriacou (It's an Island) Cries for Liberty

By Howard W. French New York Times Service

HILLSBOROUGH, Carriacou - In these times of blossoming multiculturalism, the tiny Caribbean island of Carriacou has decided that self-respect demands that it, too, should join the struggle to say its

For too long, residents say, they have been the silent victims of their administrative overlords in Grenada, or the "mainland." 20 miles south, and they have begun to insist that they be allowed to assert their The unlikely inspiration for this dissonance under the sedating

ingrained in their very liber: contraband, or bobol, as it is known in the local, French-inspired patois. In a debate that they assert strongly echoes the American independence movement against Britain, they have begun to argue that with little in the way of return on their taxes paid to Grenada, there is no reason they should submit to customs duties on imported goods

Windward climes is an activity that the 6,000 Carriacouans assert is

imposed by their sister island. Unlike Grenada with its banana and numeg farming, they say, the people here make their living through a combination of fishing and trading goods freely and informally through the region. To interfere with this livelihood, Carriacouans can be heard to say, would be to rob them of their birthright.

Fittingly, the Patrick Henry of this drama is an American-trained

lawyer, Anselm B. Clouden, who by evoking the seafaring ways of his

ancestors, and their descendants' supposed mistreatment at the hands

of Grenadians, has begun to arouse nationalist passions. To the outsider, Carriacouans and Grenadians can seem very much alike, both in appearance and accent. As might be suspected, the two

Indian populations to the importation of slave labor from West Africa and colonial rule under France, then Britain. But comparisons bring from Mr. Clouden a detailed and impassioned accounting of the cultural differences that separate the people

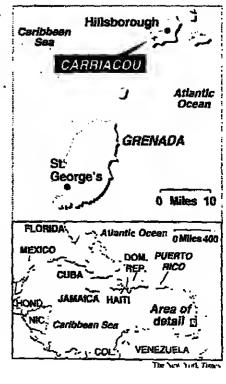
islands share much common history, from the destruction of local

here from Grenadians. Grenada has evolved from a plantocracy, so their mentality is different from ours," said Mr. Clouden, peppering his speech with phrases like "liberty or death," and "taxation without representation." evocative of the American Revolution. "We, being a small island, look

to the sea for our living." Il Carriacou can be said to have had its own Tca Party, most residents would say the event was the arrival some months back of a British customs expert contracted by the government of Grenada to see to it that import duties were being paid here.

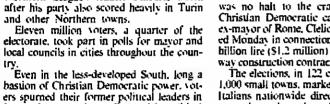
When the agent arrived on a Saturday, residents recount, none of the island's few taxis would carry him with his bags to his temporary residence. On the next Monday, when offices opened, local government workers, 100, refused to help him, and police officers had to be sent from Grenada to assist. Many here described this passive resistance as a deeply satisfying, if

See ISLE, Page 6



Kashnigan Post Service

WASHINGTON - The Su-



because of the group's religious purpose. Although individual jus-

tices differed in their reasoning, the

New York school district was

wrong to turn away an evangelical Christian church that wanted to

Even in the less-developed South, long a bastion of Christian Democratic power, voters spurmed their former political leaders in favor of groups demanding quick political

MILAN - The pro-autonomy Northern

League and other protest groups won crush-

ing victories in local Italian balloting, humdi-

ating corruption-tainted governing parties and increasing pressure for quick national elections, results showed Monday,

The Northern League, with its anti-Rome rhetoric and demands for greater local auton-

omy, swept the North, taking 41 percent of the vote in Milan, according to final results of Sunday's elections released by the Interior

It was the highest percentage ever recorded

We are the masters of the North," said the

for a single party in Italy's industrial capital.

the epicenter of the corruption scandals.

Northern League's leader, Umberto Bossi,

change.

The elections have no direct bearing on the

government led by Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, but they are certain to raise demands to push forward the date for general elections, which until now were expected to

the politicians who have governed Italy for more than four decades.

politicians and husinessmen.

Even as votes were being counted, there was no halt to the crackdown. A former Christian Democratic cahinet minister and ex-mayor of Rome, Clelio Darida, was arrested Monday in connection with an alleged 1.7 billion lire (\$1.2 million) kickback for a subway construction contract, news reports said.

The elections, in 122 cittes and more than 1,000 small towns, marked the first time that Italians nationwide directly voted for mayors, a change brought on by a growing cry for

Before Sunday, only small towns in Sicily

church group from using as class- nizations and free speech advo-

rooms after school hours simply cates, the case was consistent with

Bosnia to Cooperate On UN Safe Areas, **But With Conditions**

Owen plan as the ultimate goal.

• That the United Nations post

monitors on the borders of Bosnia-

Commenting on casualties in the

Muslim-Croat fighting in Travnik, a UN officer said: "I believe the

dreds. We don't know the precise

Muslims had driven Croatian

weekend, and had pushed out

ahout 3,000 Croatian civilians on

Accused Serb

Asks Help From

The Associated Press

fending Vuk Draskovic, the leader of Serbia's democratic opposition.

appealed Monday to Hillary Clin-

ton, a lawyer, to help free him. Mr. Draskovic and his wife,

Danica, were arrested and report-

edly beaten on Wednesday after

tests in Belgrade in more than two

They face up to 15 years in jail on

various charges and are being held

in pretrial custody in a tough crack-

down on what remains of Serbia's democratic opposition. Several

pro-Draskovic protests reportedly

have been banned since his arrest.

ton to provide professional assis-tance in our efforts to free Vuk

Draskovic," said Mr. Draskovic's

President Bill Clinton recently

was host to Mr. Draskovic at a

White House breakfast for East

A major case yet to be decided this term could more directly give

justices an opportunity to elarify

church-state doctrine. The case,

Zobrest v. Catalina Foothills

School District, involves a Arizona

student who is deaf and was denied

a sign-language interpreter because he wanted to attend a Catholic The school-access conflict - in Lamh's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District —

arose after a Long Island district

the film series. The district's policy stemmed from a New York state law that barred the use of school

premises for religious purposes.

Justice Bryon R. White, who will retire at the end of the term, wrote the majority opinion and, in a rare

departure from his terse style, read

policy that specifically excludes re-ligious groups violates free-speech

guarantees, because it effectively favors some viewpoints over oth-

ers. He rejected the judgment of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit that the school property

was a limited public forum that could be open only for designated

purposes. He said that there would have

been no violation of the constitu-

tionally required separation of

church and state, because the film

would not have been shown during school hours, would not have been

sponsored by the school and would

have been open to the public.

part of it from the bench.

lawyer, Borivoje Borovic.

church and state.

We are calling for Hillary Clin-

biggest anti-government pro-

BELGRADE - Lawyers de-

Hillary Clinton

(Reuters, AP)

Herzegovina.

to all the villages."

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnia's Muslim-led government said Monday that it would cooperate with UN troops on a plan for Muslim safe areas, although it was dissatisfied with the Security Council resolution to protect havens.

In a statement sharply criticizing the international community's atti-tude toward the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the government added a series of demands on the status of the six areas designated as safe by the United Nations.

The grudging decision reflected desperation for peace after 14 months of losses in a war that has left at least 138,000 people dead or missing and made refugees of more than 2 million others.

Bosnian Serbian forces pursued their assault on the beleaguered eastern enclave of Gorazde for a 12th day on Monday, and Bosnian radio reported that another supposed safe area. Srebrenica, had been shelled over the weekend.

Meanwhile. UN military sources said that hundreds of people had been killed in fighting between Muslims and Croats in Travnik, in central Bosnia.

The Security Council resolution, adopted Friday, authorizes the sending of forces to protect six Muslim enclaves, In accepting the plan Monday, the government set the following conditions:

 That the zones be expanded beyond the proposed six cities and their immediate vicinities to include their "economic hinterlands," an undefined, much broad-

 That they be connected by UN-controlled safe roads to the few remaining government-held re-

 That besieging Serbs withdraw heavy weapons from the vicinity of the proposed safe zones. That the Security Council reaf-

WORLD BRIEFS

Yeltsin Receives Surprise Support From Chief Justice for Strong Rule

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Valeri D. Zorkin, chief justice of the Russian Constitutional Court, offered President Boris N. Yeltsin some unexpected support on Monday, saying he backed a tough speech by Mr. Yeltsin

to the Constitutional Assembly debating a new charter for Russia.

Mr. Zorkin, a key arbitrator in Russia's power struggle, is formally independent but has several times sided with conservatives against Mr. Yeltsin. The Itar-Tass news agency quoted him Monday as having said

that he "favored strong presidential power in Russia."

Tass said Mr. Zorkin singled ont several positive aspects in Mr. Yeltsin's opening speech to the assembly showing signs of willingness to compromise and grant parliament a role in approving a new constitution to replace the Soviet charter.

number of dead is a marter of hun-On the other hand, Mr. Zorkin criticized President Yelisin's assertion that regional soviets, or councils, were incompatible with democracy and his call for early parliamentary elections. Mr. Zorkin qualified his remarks on presidential power by saying it must not be "dictatorial" and that there should be a civilized balance between the executive and figure because we still can't get in UN military sources said the legislative branches of authority. forces out of Travnik over the

Thatcher Assails Major on EC Stand

LONDON (Reuters) - Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher asserted Monday that the government of John Major, her successor, had betrayed the trust of the British people by denying them a referendum on

the Maastricht treaty for closer European Community integration.

"No elector in this country has been able to vote against Maastricht," she said at the start of a two-day debate in the House of Lords. "It has been impossible to do so, and I think when one looks at the extent of the power being handed over, it is disgraceful if we deny them that opportunity." The House of Commons has already ratified the treaty.

power being handed over, it is disgracerul it we ties) have a opposite nity." The House of Commons has already ratified the treaty.

"The treaty would undermine our age-old parliamentary and and legal institutions, both far older than those in the Community," she said. "We have so much more to lose by the Maastricht treaty than any other state in the Community. It will diminish democracy and increase bureaucracy."

Tenfold Rise in AIDS Funds Sought

BERLIN (Reuters) - Two world agencies at the ninth international AIDS conference called on Monday for a tenfold increase in spending to combat the epidemic and save 10 million lives this decade.

The World Health Organization called on governments and other groups to provide \$2.5 billion annually, and the World Bank endorsed the

plan. The funds would spearhead efforts aimed at prevention in developing countries, a drive that could save 10 million lives before the year 2000, said Michael Merson, head of WHO's AIDS program. Dean Jamison, a senior World Bank official, said the bank would soon publish a report advocating a sharp increase in health-care spending, of which a large portion should be devoted to AIDS.

President Riehard von Weizsäcker of Germany opened the conference on Monday with an appeal for more compassion and less moralizing toward AIDS victims.

Major Overhaul for Japan Socialists? TOKYO (Reuters) - The Socialist Party, in a draft platform, is

proposing a radical shift in its policies, declaring that socialism does not work. The draft, called the "1993 Declaration," says, "The collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe bears witness to the fact that socialist eans were wrong_ The plan is to be submitted to the party executive committee for

approval later this year and is expected to meet strong resistance from

hard-liners within the main opposition party.

The draft also proposes that the Socialists approve the 1951 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the existence of the Self-Defense Forces, the nation's military. The Cold War-era platform rejected the treaty.

Keformist Claims Victory in Bolivia

LA PAZ (AP) - Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, a mining executive who was raised in the United States, claimed victory Monday in Bolivia's presidential elections, based on unofficial returns. He promised to work for a government based on social justice, honesty and change. President

Jaime Paz Zamora is barred by law from running for re-election.

Mr. Sanchez de Lozada, who must be formally voted into office by
National Congress in August, comes from a wealthy land-owning family. His running mate, Victor Hugo Cardenas, an Aymara Indian intellectual and educator, grew up in an adobe hut near the shores of Lake Titicaca. Mr. Sanchez de Lozada promises to give Bolivian Indian farmers political power and to respect Indian languages and culture in the educational system. During his campaign, Mr. Sanchez de Lozada said Rolivia needed a revolution to cod contention and improve the social and Bolivia needed a revolution to end corruption and improve the social and

turned down a church group's application to use facilities to show Angola Puts Train Attack Toll at 300

that up to 300 people died in a UNITA rebel attack on a train in southern Angola on May 27—far higher than was announced previously.

General João de Matos, interviewed by Portugal's TSF radio during a visit to Lisbon, said most of the dead were civilians. First reports of the

attack, at Quipungo, 800 kilometers (500 miles) south of the capital, Luanda, put the death toll at about 100 with 150 wounded.

"UNITA attacked a train causing the death, up to yesterday, of about

Justice White first stated that a 300 people." General de Matos said. He said the rebels detonated explosives under the train carrying 3,000 people, causing the rear carriages to derail, then attacked the survivors. UNITA says the train carried soldiers, many in civilian clothes, and arms and amo

TRAVEL UPDATE

A tribal chief in Swaziland has bauned women from wearing trousers on the grounds that this is disrespectful to tradition and to the country's monarch, Senior Chief Lusendo Fakudze, a royal counsellor, passed the regulation over the weekend, saying it was "shameful" for women to wear slacks in public, according to local news reports in Mbabane. Under Swazi law, the edict of a chief is law in his district and the police will enforce the ban, the reports said,

(AP)

Direct flights to Angola from Johannesburg have been re-established by South African Airways. The flights were suspended in November during Joining Justice White in his opin-ion were Chief Justice William H. a diplomatic dispute.

ion were Chief Justice William H.
Rehnquist and Justices Harry A.
Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, Sandra Day O'Connor and David H.

Berlin and Kaliningrad, the westernmost Russian enclave, are linked by direct air service as of Monday, Itar-Tass press agency said. One flight a week will connect Berlin with Kaliningrad, which is separated from the rest of Russia by the Baltic state of Latvia.

(Reuters)

DEATH NOTICE

MR. CONRAD JAY PALAIS born in New York City (USA) passed away on May 20th 1993 at Le Chesnay (France) M.I.T. 1949

Medaille du Travail Français Groupe Intertechnique Membre du Club Bugatti-France

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A Fragrant Takeover Bid Pops Champagne's Corks By Suzy Menkes

PARIS — The liquid is a familiar pale yellow, but the little bottle bas twists of rope restraining its dimpled stopper. And when Yves Saint Laurent popped open his new Champagne fragrance Monday.

it set off a spray of invective.

"Shame," cried France's Champagne producers as they first tried to disrupt the launching of the new fragrance at a Paris hotel, and then held an impromptu press conference.

Twenty-one representatives of France's Champagne industry were protesting Saint Laurent's appropriation of a name that is limited by French law to wines produced in the country's Champagne region.

"We will take this case to court, because once we allow someone to use the name, where will it end? Next cigarettes, finally diapers!" said Marc Brugnon, president of the Syndicat des Vignerons de Champagne. "We spend 20 million francs a year protecting Champagne throughout the world and now we have been taken hostage by

a famous French company."

Leaving a feast of lobster and Champagne (the real Louis Roederer thing), Pierre Bergé, Saint Laurent's president, burst into the winemakers' gathering to distribute bottles of his own (the new Saint

"I am convinced that for a house of the stature of Saint Laurent to ram convinced that for a house of the stature of Saint Laurent to call a perfume Champagne is the greatest possible help and can only increase its image in the world," said Mr. Bergé, who expects the fragrance to turn over 200 million francs (about \$40 million) in its first four months. Mr. Bergé said that he had actually bought the name "Champagne" from Caron, a perfume company that established its fragrance in 1942.

Behind the storm in a Champagne flute, the serious issues are the need to protect a French industry facing layoffs after the bubbly 1980s, and the challenge to a government statute by a firm, Saint Laurent, that was hought this year by Sanoff, a division of the state-owned company Elf-Aquitaine.

Umberto Bossi, right, congratulating the Northern League's mayoral candidate for Milan, Marco Formentini, on Monday. Opposition Sweeps Local Italian Voting

> be held in the autumn, Among the traditional parties, only the former Communists managed to hold their own, particularly in central Italy, Although they have been touched by the scandal, it has been to a lesser extent, and the ex-Communists have tried to distance themselves from

Milan was where the first arrests in nationwide scandals were made 16 months ago. They have since implicated more than 2,000

changes two years ago. But amid ever-widen-ing scandals, the legislature this year passed a law mandating direct elections for larger cit-Until Sunday. Italians in larger cities voted

had elected mayors directly, having instituted

for political parties and leaders of the win-ning party would choose the mayors and other office-holders. The new system is expected to make politicians more accountable

"Today, for the first time in the history of the Italian republic, we vote more for the men than for the parties," wrote Paolo Mieli, editor in chief of Corriere della Sera.

■ Alitalia Executive Investigated Magistrates have begun an inquiry of the state-run airline Alitalia for alleged irregularities concerning aircraft leasing arrangements

with Cofiri, another state-run company, Reuters reported Monday. The news agency ANSA quoted judicial sources as saying Alitalia's managing direc-tor, Giovanni Bisignani, had been formally notified that he was under investigation for falsifying reports to shareholders and to Ita-ly's stock exchange watehdog body.

Rhode Island.

uation ceremony in Providence,

The National School Boards As-

take the new case, from a school

sociation had asked the court to tice, which encourages prayer at

U.S. Ruling Opens Schools to After-Hours Religious Activity faced with aggressive and competing claims by the conservative gious freedom and separation of

> district near Houston, because of American Civil Liberties Union, court unanimously found that a without comment, let stand an ap- confusion around the country this which opposes the practice. peals court decision permitting spring over whether graduation Both the new rolling and the prayer at a public school gradua-tion. Just last year the court ruled The court's action further concourt's refusal to review the prayer decision underscore the difficulty

American Center for Law and Jus-

graduation ceremonies, and the

How do you call a foreign country when you're already in one? Pick a card, any card.

court rulings since 1981 allowing church groups public access.

Separately, however, the court,

tion. Just last year the court ruled



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STATESIDE / PEVE

A New White House Briefer Steps to the Mike

WASHINGTON - The president's deputy chief of staff. Mark Gearan, became White House communications director Monday as part of a continuing reorganization of personnel, Mr. Gearan, 36, succeeded George Stephanopoulos, 32, who is moving into a new role as President Clinton's schior adviser.

Mr. Gearan will brief reporters, but not daily. White House officials said. The White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, will continue to handle the morning briefings, and Mr. Gearan will give some of the afternoon ones.

The new communications director had been executive director of the Democratic Governors' Association and the spokesman for the 1988 presidential campaign of Michael S. Dukakis. Mr. Gearan brings to the job good relations with reporters and existing communications staff members who are anxious about what their roles will be under the new presidential counselor. David Gergen.

White House officials had said earlier that they expected Mr. Gearan to take on a new role coordinating the White House's political, governmental relations and public outreach functions.

However, according to a White House official, the chief of staff
Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty and Mr. Clinton "came to the conclusion that they make the conclusion to the conclusion that they make the conclusion to the c sion that they wanted someone to run the department, to work on relationships with the press, get the operation running and continue to be involved on a senior level," and that other problems could be dealt with in other ways later.

Haif a World Away, Clinton's Rating Drops

TOKYO — President Clinton's popularity took another dip Monday, this time in Japan. A public opinion poll there showed his numbers plunging almost 20 percentage points. Mr. Clinton is now seen in a negative light by more than half of Japanese, according to

The survey, conducted in May by Nippon Research Center Ltd., showed that the 62 percent approval rating Mr. Clinton enjoyed in February had tumbled to 44 percent. His negative ratings, expressed in a polite Japanese "not favorably impressed," went up to 51 percent, compared to 34 percent in February.

Mr. Clinton suffered most in the area of trade, where there has Mr. Clinton surfered most in the area of translation and Japan. been discord between the Clinton administration and Japan.

How Babying Helped a Clinton Measure Pass

WASHINGTON -- Reports continue trickling in about the deals, threats and sweet-talking used by Chaton forces to corral a bare majority in the House of Representatives for his deficit-reduction plan. Vice President Al Gore went after Representative Calvin Dooley. Democrat of California, who was on the fence until he decided to vote yes at the 11th hour. Was he promised a new dam or courthouse? "No," a Dooley aide confided, "the Gore daughters sometimes babysit for the congressman," who lives near the vice president's residence in suburban Arlington, Virginia. (LAT)

Quote/Unquote

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"I have no trouble with my enemies." President Warren G. Harding said in 1923, after the eruption of the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal involving two of his close friends and cabinet officers, "but my goddamn friends, they are the ones who keep me walking the

In Texas Debacle, How Big an Albatross Was Clinton?

By Richard L. Berke

New York Times Server WASHINGTON - Has President Bill Clinton become such a political pariah that he drove hordes of Texans to the polls to overwhelmingly elect a Republican, Kay Bailey Hutchison, to the Senate?

Probably not. The Democratic incumbent, Senator Bob Krueger, had problems of his own, like being such a dreadful campaigner that his campaign produced television commercials extolling that fact. Besides, analysts warn against making too much of whether any president has "chat-tails" that significantly affect a local elec-Though she entered the tion for hetter or worse.

But Mr. Clinton's plunging popularity campaign was waged as much against Mr. Clinton as against Mr. Krueger. At every turn, Mrs. Hutchison, who is the Texas state treasurer, attacked the president's

proposal for tax increases.

president: How could it be a referendum. sponsibility. they ask, when even Mr. Krueger stayed

While it is dehatable how much Mrs Krueger. Hutchison ones to Mr. Clinton, it is clear that the outcome is another big embarrassment for the president at a time when nothing seems to be going right for him. Mrs. Hutchison's victory on Saturday marks the first time since the post-Civil War period that Republicans will hold ed Treasury socretary. Letter did she know

Though she entered the race as the heavy favorite, the degree of Mrs. Hutchison's rout was unexpected. She drew 1.153.766 did not help matters, as Mrs. Hutchison's votes, or 67.3 percent, to Krueger's 574.089 votes, or 32.7 percent.

Democrats close to Mr. Clinton were hard pressed to explain Mr. Krueger's re-sounding defeat —except to insist that Mr. Hutchison said Sanday. That will be my Clinton had nothing to do with it. Robert first order of resines-To the Republicans who call the election Slagle, the Texas Democratic chairman.

clear of Mr. Clinton and derided his prohartleship anchor strapped on your back,"
he said of Mr. Clinton's shadow over Mr.

After a protected warch dunne which everyone seemed to turn down the job, Governor Ann Richards, whose political reputation also was composed by the election's outcome, picked Mr. Krieger to replace Lloyd Bentsen after he was appointthat the worran who will sen a the remaining 18 months of what was Mr. Bentsen's term will now devote herself to opposing the economic purkage that he nelped cre-

"I am going to make sure that I sign on for everything I can do to kill the taxes in Short of not pulling hir. Beatsen out of

a referendum on Mr. Clinton, the Demo-was one of the few in his party to publicly the Senate in the first place. Mr. Cunton's traits' response is hardly reassuring to the suggest that the president bears some reladities and there was little they could have done to keep the seat Democratic. The was a for like trying to owin with a. They said Mr. Clinton had not played any duect role in urging Governor Richards to pick Mr. Krueger, and that there was a panetty of obvious formidable candidates.

> Although Paul Begala, an adviser to Mr. Clinton, traveled to Texas to help the fultering Krueget campaign, neither he nor anyone at the White House made an all-out effort to help

White House officials said they crewed Mr. Krueger as a loser early on. And. from the start, they said Mr. Clinton's influence was limited because he was never wildly popular in Texas. In last year's elections. President George Bush won his adopted home state with 40 percent, followed by Mr. Cimton with 31 percent and Ross Perot with 22 percent.

Only two years ago. Democtats were gloating that the upset victory of Senator Harris Wofford, a Pennsylvania Democrat. probably disappointed."

over fermer Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh was evidence of a public outer, against Mr. Bush. Mt. Wolford search on domestic issues like health care and relentlessly attacked Mr. Bush as our of touch, issues that Mr. Clinton used successfully in last year's election.

James Carulle, an adviser to Mr. Ciliston who crchestrated the Wolford campaign, disputed the idea that there were similarities between the two races, insisting that the notion of a president influencing a local election was overbloun. Referring to Mr. Wolford's race, he said. "I don't think I ever said it was a referendum on Book

While he disagreed that the Texas results could be a "wake up call" to Mr. Cinton to change his policies, Mr. Carville could not offer an everriding reason for the outcome gazept that Mr. Krueger was a poor carr-

"There's no way I could see the president ". embarrassed by this," he said, "But he - "



MEMORIAL FOR A KENNEDY — Senator Edward M. Kennedy, left, with the Clintons and Ethel Kennedy, at a memorial Mass in air force general arrived in Europe Arlington National Cemetery in honor of her hasband, Robert F. Kennedy, on the 25th anniversary of his assassination on June 6, 1968.

U.S. Investigates Report That Officer **Mocked President**

Laskington Post Service WASHINGTON - A two-star U.S. Air Force general is being in-vestigated on charges that he ridieuled President Bill Clinton as a "gay-living." "pot-smoking."
"draft-dodging" and "womaniz-ing commander in chief at a hanquet for U.S. Air Force personnel in the Neitherlands.

of making the derogatory remarks during a speech he gave to 250 people at a May 24 awards ceremony for air force maintenance workers stationed at Soesterberg Air Base in the Netherlands, air force officials said Monday in response to an inouity.

Over the weekend, a three-star air force general arrived in Europe

temptuous" comments by officers about their civilian leadership.

More broadly, the case could prove embarrassing to military leaders and to the Cimical edminitration by spotlighting wire againthe strong undercurrent of surple cion and even hospitay that mun; in the military continue to feet toward their commander in chief

The officer, Major General Har-old N. Campbell, has been accused improve relations, many officer and enlisted men and women harhor strong reservations about Mr Clinton's background as an arms. war projecter, his program of de-fense cuts and his hugely unpopu-lar efforts to lift the bar, on-

"I don't care if he's a Democrat or a Republican, once he's in, he's the commander in chief, and we salute smartly," said a senior air force officer who asked not to be

identified One senior air force officer said b he had been told that General -" Campbell's remarks were greeted ... by scattered boos and hisses from " /2

the audience of enlisted personnel. officers and spouses.
"If it's true that he said it, he was incredibly stupid," the officer said. General Campbell, 53, is a former fighter-pilot who served two compat tours in Vietnam and has

won numerous medals and commendations, including a Silver Star for gallanuv. Captain Charles Porter, who re-turned a phone message left at of General Campbell's office Mon-day, said the general was "unavail-Captain Charles Porter, who re-

day, said the general was "unavailable for comment." General Campbell had traveled to the Netherlands to speak at an awards ceremony honoring the maintenance professional of the year at Speaterberg, according to

Captain Terry Bowman, a spokes of man for the 32d lighter group. which is based there. The banquet proceedings wern unrecorded, and Captain Bowmen country in comparison to what laces Mr. Clinion.

said, "We simply don't have a transcript of what was said." However, several air force officers familiar with accounts of the evening said General Campbell azparently opened his speech by \$25-

ing. "I usually begin with a joke. but there's nothing to joke about given the current occupant of the White House.

General Campbell apparently went on to ridicule the president for "draft-dedging" pot-smaking and "womanizing," a senior officer said. The officer, who requested anonymity, said General Campbell celebrity guests, died Wednesday, also was reported to have described the president as "gay-loving,"

With Communism Dead, the Elite Cold War Thinkers Falter on Goals

By Lawrence Malkin

International Herald Tribune
HARRIMAN; New York - Perched on its Arden House-once the country home of the railroad magnate E. W. Harriman, whose son W. Averelt Harriman decided it as a retreat for the - ... American Establishment during its Cold War ascendancy in 1951. Less anyone doubt the endurance of that Establishment, Averell Harriman's widow was installed as ambassador to France last

But over the weekend, Arden House was besieged by uncertainty and doubt. Some of the "hest and brightest," who for 40 years followed the fixed star of anti-communism, gathered for the 10 to 17 to 10 to 83d meeting of the American Assembly. The sub-ject was "Public Engagement in Foreign Policy After the Cold War."

After hours of carefully structured discussion, Takey came to the sobering conclusion that it will be much more difficult than anyone had thought for the United States to shift its attention from foreign

Away From Politics

peared to have been a robbery.

Two men and a woman were killed and three

people were wounded at a grocery store in Wind-

sor. North Carolina, in what the police said ap-

· Confronting a severe drop in industrial jobs, New

Jersey is preparing to weaken environmental cleanup rules for land intended for industrial or

commercial use. Although environmentalists are

worried that the plan will set a bad precedent,

urban plannets are applieding it, saying it would address a problem that exists elsewhere in the United States: urban land lying fallow, in part

because of the costs of cleaning up pollution. Taree people were killed when their fishing boat collided head-on with a 26-foot (eight-meter) cabin cruiser in the dark on Lake Wylie in Charlotte,

North Carolina. Three people were hurt.

erns, the participants conceded that der begin? they could no longer impose policy from the top down but had to play much closer attention to the hurly-burly of global economic competition. The government now must arbitrate noisy

NEWS ANALYSIS

claims of citizen groups ranging from passionate advocates of buman rights to the manufacturers of computer chips, big labor unions and even state governments in the Far West that are making their own Pacific Rim trade connections without reference to Washington.

By contrast, they noted, an anachronistic distinction between foreign and domestic concerns still "dominates virtually all our institutions, habits and practices."

Take the argument over the North American Free Trade Agreement. Where do people's fears

he died. The Miami Herald reported.

The discovery of a sixth patient infected with the

AIDS virus by a Florida dentist is leading more investigators to suspect that the dentist, David

Acer, transmitted the disease intentionally before

e A Wisconson tax appeals commissioner has or-

dered the state to refund an estimated \$105 million

in state income taxes and interest to about 23,500

federal government retirees. The commissioner

said the state had discriminated against the federal retirees because many state and local government

retirees had a tax exemption for pension income.

. A three-year, churchwide study on homosexuality

Sexuality of the Presbyterian Church's 205th General Assembly in Orlando, Florida. The panel

voted, 32 to 3, to recommend the study in response

to requests from regional courch bodies that want

the church to either strengthen or relax its ban on

homosexual clergy.

was recommended by the Committee on Human

reshaped on trade and investment in Japan.

Then there are the interactions between energy taxes, dependence on foreign oil and global warming that affect questions ranging from the quality of the environment to peace in the Middle East.

Even Bosnia, supposedly a quintessential for-

eign policy problem for the experts, is no more immune from the instant visual and emotional stimulus of what the conferees dubbed "the CNN factor" than starvation in Somalia. The befuddlement of elites over how to handle such questions helps explain the Clinton adminis-

tration's uncertain and uncoordinated signals on such grave matters as trade, security and human

During the Cold War, the American elite never

Conway Twitty, 59, the country

and western singer who brought a

rich, throuty tone to dozens of

steamy ballads over four decades in the music business, died Saturday

The cause of death was a rup-tured blood vessel in his stomach,

hospital officials at Cox Medical

Center said. Mr. Twitty collapsed

in Springfield, Missouri.

charts in 1958.

doubted the nation's security priorities. Access to

affairs to domestic policy because the distinction had been blurred almost beyond recognition.

Once haughtily independent of the public's do
Once haughtily independent of the public's doburg. But the country can no longer afford that and single-issue groups ally with each other to Mr. McHenry presented a paper. "Consensus The same overlapping domestic and foreign and single-issue groups ally with each other to questions of reciprocal benefit can be slightly prevent it.

That leaves all foreign policy groups similarly adrift, remarked Alton Frye, the Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, who observed the proceedings here. We have no prob-lem in dealing with specific issues like aid to the former Soviet Union," he said. "We have no shortage of experts. But when they need direction and goals, it is not there."

The Assembly picks its participants from a pool of public-spirited businessmen, professors, pundits and present and former public officials. They speak frankly to each other, but not for quotation. Their concluding statement was being distributed

and "serious salesmanship" by President Bill Clinton. But the president's new counselor

was engaged in Washington on just such matters. Bowing to the inevitable, the Assembly urged Congress to streamline its procedures. And it urged Mr. Clinton to use his talents as a performer to stimulate, referee and focus public dehate rather than trying to figure out a new policy in private. which makes the creation of the postwar world order by Washington's wise men under President Harry S. Truman seem like a weekend in the

day in Houston.

helped found the American News-paper Guild in 1933, died Wednes-

Robert J. Klein, 66, a founding

Bob Fitzsimmons, 53, a New

York radio and television host

known for his are interviews with

editor of Money magazine and a consumer advocate, died of cancer

Thursday in Manhattan.

"Won't Come Easy, or Soon." This, he concluded in

part, is because power had devolved from the State Department to domestic departments that are

concerned with commercial interest groups and

are far more responsive to congressional pressures.

David Gergen, a mustee, produced a paper call-ing for "a clear, concise framework for foreign

Among this weekend's signers were Admiral Bohby R. Inman, former director of the National Security Agency and deputy director of central

Conway Twitty, 59, C&W Balladeer, Dies

Mr. Twitty once said. "I like a cancer of the esophagus Sunday in song that says things a man wants. New York. to say and doesn't know how to say Philip E. Hoffman, 84, a lawyer who was a former U.S. representa-Mr. Twitty's real name was Hartive to the United Nations Human old Jenkins. He was portag over a Rights Commission and a former map one day and nouced the towns national president of the American of Conway, Arkansas, and Twiny, Texas, and made up his stage name. Jewish Committee, died of cancer

Sunday in Livingston, New Jersey,

Judge Barrington D. Parker. 77. of the Federal District Court in Washington, who presided over the trial of John W. Hinckley Jr., the would-be presidential assassin, and in other major cases, died Wednes-

attack and stroke in 1989. Jonathan Eddy, 91, a former ers who ruled on Israeli tesponsi-bility for the 1982 massacres at the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in

GOLDENBERG WAGAAN Lebanon, died of cancer, the army YIDDISCH DELICATESSEN

All the Trad. jewish spec. Average price of a meal: 180 F major supporter of the arts, died of , L. H, were de Hagnas (17e) id. 42 17 34 79 1

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Light at the End of the Carpal Tunnel

By Sabra Chartrand Vew York Times Service

WASHINGTON - Carpai tunnel syndrome can be painful and debilitating — and it has become an increasingly common work-related injury. It is among the most serious of the repetitive stress injuries that can result from continuous wrist and band motions, like typing all day on a computer. These movements can cause a ligament to thicken

and press on the nerve and tendons running through the carpal tunnel, a cluster of bones in the wrist and palm. The result can be pain, numbness and weakness in the fingers, hands and wrists. Repetitive stress injury, or RSI, cost American businesses \$20 billion in 1992, an eightfold increase from

1982 according to the Department of Labor. In 1991, approximately 331,000 people needed wrist splints, anti-inflammatory medication or rest to recover from the ailment, the department said. About 100,000 people also underwent surgery to cut the ligament and relieve pressure on the nerve. But that left some patients with a loss of hand strength.

ed a procedure to alleviate the problems without cutting the ligament. Instead, he simply stretches it. This is similar to the balloon angioplasty done for the heart," said Dr. J. Lee Berger, referring to how a balloon catheter can be used to clear blocked arteries. Dr. Berger has performed his carpal tunnel procedure on 25 patients at St. Joseph's Hospital and

Medical Center in Paterson. New Jersey, since 1990. "I just make a quarter-inch incision in the base of the palm, go under the ligament with the balloon; inflate the balloon, stretch the ligament and free the nerve," he said.

"Once you stretch the ligament a certain amount, it doesn't come back," he said, meaning that the ligament should not resume pressing on the nerve. So far, Dr. Berger said, all his patients have returned to work, and to the same repetitive tasks, without any

trouble. He admitted, however, that his experience is limited to a small group. "But once we do this procedure, it doesn't burn any bridges if the condition does come back," he said. "We can do it again, or go the traditional way and cut the

James Bridges, 57. a writer-di-rector whose films included "The China Syndrome." "The Paper Chase" and "Urona Cowboy." Friday night on his tour hus after a performance in nearby Branson. Missouri, a country and western died of cancer Sunday at the University of California, Los Angeles. Mr. Twitty began as a rock-and-roll singer in the 1950s, and his Medical Center. Yona Efrat, 67, the army general song "Lonely Blue Boy" went gold, His biggest hit, "It's Only Make Believe." hit the top of the pop who was one of three commission-

Eventually, Mr. Twirty had more than 50 No. I songs on the country said Sunday charts. He specialized in bullads of lost love, with "Tight Fittin" Jeans, "Hello Darlin," and "Af-W. McNell Lowry, 80, a former vice president of the Ford Foundater All the Good is Gone" among tion who made that institution a his biggest hits. in the early 1970s, Mr. Twitty

had a string of successful duets with Loretta Lynn, including "Louisiana Woman, Mississippi Man" and "After the Fire is Gone," for which they won a Grammy in 1971. Since crossing over to country and western, he had released an average of one album every eight months.

"Conway Twitty records are immediately recognizable." Robert Palmer of The New York Times wrote in 1977. "The singer has one of the richest male voices in the country idiom, and his bluesy colorations, especially a kind of throaty purr, are distinctive."



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Herald Tribune.

Center of the White House

It is now impossible to read or listen to commentary on the state of the Clinton administration without encountering talk of the president's determination to "move to the center" or "be more of a moderate." The assumption underlying all this seems to be that Bill Clinton is in trouble because he has been "too liberal" or "too far outside the mainstream" or in some other unacceptable place. In our view, an ideological framework explains less about the president's woes than do his problems with organization, staffing and decision-making.

We cannot, for example, figure out what is "left-wing" or "right-wing" (or, for that matter, "centrist") about the fiasco in the White House travel office or the sloppy staff work that went into the Guinier appointment or the presidentially sanctified chaos and obstruction that are the White House personnel office.

So far as this vaunted "moderation" is concerned, there are at least a couple of definitions. A "moderate" can be seen as reasonable, thoughtful, open - the opposite of fanatical; or as inconstant, timid, weak — the opposite of principled. In his campaign, Mr. Clinton cleaved to what looked like the first definition. He was willing to address issues that many Democrats and been afraid of. It was essential, he said, for friends of government activism to shake up inefficient bureaucracies and find new ways to deliver government services; wanting to reform government was different from wanting to destroy it. Welfare reform, he insisted, was not about stigmatizing the poor but about helping them lift themselves

from dependency. It is possible, he said, to he socially compassionate but still encourage virtues like personal responsibility.

If "moving to the center" means a new engagement with these themes, then Mr. Clinton is seeking the right road. If, on the other hand, centrism turns out to be a flight from controversy and a quest for lowestcommon-denominator compromise, then it will serve Mr. Clinton badly and reinforce an image that he should be fighting; that of a president too easily rolled.

For all of his troubles, one of Mr. Chinton's legitimate points of honor has been his willingness to acknowledge the need for higher taxes to reduce the deficit and finance some modest new social programs. A certain amount of trading — some new spending cuts in exchange for a somewhat smaller tax increase - may be essential for securing final agreement on a budget. That is a normal part of the legislative process. But Mr. ton should not give up on his energy tax, nor should be consent to its being gutted on behalf of every special interest with a claim on a few senators. And Mr. Clinton needs to light if further cuts are aimed at pro-

grams for the very poorest Americans. What the president clearly does not need right now is anything that looks gimmicky or panicky or simply rhetorical. More than a move to the center, he needs to be centered himself - confident about where be wants to go, deliberate about getting there, and disciplined in reorganizing the White House so that he can avoid further selfinflicted wounds.

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Fund-Raising Follies

Two weeks ago, embarrassed White House officials canceled a breakfast with President Bill Clinton that the Democratic National Committee had organized for lob-byists and other fat cat contributors. Now they have pulled the plug on the commit-tee's plan to establish a private foundation to help sell Mr. Clinum's health care program. But other aspects of the national committee's dubious scheme are proceeding apace, making one wonder whether Mr. Clinton's political friends were paying attention when he promised to run the special

interests out of town. The committee dissolved the foundation after a report last week in The Washington Post. Started with about \$100,000 in committee "seed money." the foundation had already begun to solicit money from corporations - some in the health care field - labor unions and rich individuals. It planned to apply for tax-exempt status as a nonprofit lobbying group. That would have permitted it to shield the donors'

names and the size of their gifts. A committee spokesman said that the party chairman, David Wilhelm, dropped the idea because questions had been raised about whether the foundation, given its origin, could be truly bipartisan. But the White House, still reeling from charges of incompetence and cronyism, had a more basic concern: At precisely the moment when Mr. Clinton is asking Congress to pass a campaign financing bill closing the "soft money" loophole for wealthy favorseekers, along comes the Democratic National Committee with a new way for some

of these same folks to buy influence.

The foundation is dead. The drive to raise \$35 million to sell health care reform will go forward under the frankly partisan auspices of the national committee. But ethical problems remain.

For example, the committee does not rule out putting the touch on big players in the health game, including, presumably, some of the insurance and drug companies that the administration has blamed for spiraling medical costs. The rules that govern party fund raising require that donors be disclosed. Even so, the idea of inviting the industries most likely to be affected by the health care proposal to buy into the politi-cal side of the White House could taint any effort to sell the reform plan as evenhanded Is that really a risk that Bill Clinton and

Hillary Rodham Clinton want to take?
Other presidents have managed to campaign for their programs using the formidable weapons already at the chief executive's disposal. Even in its revised form, the Democratic National Committee's plan creates new opportunities for political abuse. President Clinton doesn't need it.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Rating Video Violence

One of America's largest makers of elec-tronic games. Sega, has decided voluntarily to rate us videos in much the same way the motion picture industry rates movies. The ratings are intended to help consumers know a little more about what is in that package -whether it is decent for young players or not. Many of the most popular games not only contain graphic imagery; they require "vio-

lent" responses from the participants.

The labels are helpful and informative. even if they do cause sales of the most outrageous games to increase, as some contend. Violence unfortunately sells - ask any network programmer. But it also repels parents and others who do not want children exposed to gratuitous acts on screen, whether a video screen or a television screen. As the violence quotient rises in the entertainment media - and it has risen, according to advocacy groups that actually monitor incidents on video and television - the public's tolerance quotient declines. Polls indicate that most Americans are increasingly imeasy about violence on television.

Congress is expressing its concern, as it does in cycles. The first bearings on media violence were led by Estes Kefauver in the mid-1950s. Now Senator Paul Simon, Democrat of filinois, is leading the charge, His

TV Violence Act of 1990, which waives certain antitrust provisions, finally led the three major networks to agree last year on some broad standards ("Depictions of violence should be relevant and necessary ... "). It is too early to tell how this common "code of conduct" will affect programming. Meanwhile, others in Congress threaten to curb television violence by other means.

There is no need to step on the First.

Amendment and free speech. The industry should issue more viewer advisories, warnings and rating systems. The networks must use more restraint during family viewing hours, and more television stations could document their efforts to curb programming that many find offensive. Television an cable guides and newspapers can provide more information about content. The primary concern, a legitimate one, is about the effect of violence on children, many of whom spend hour upon hour in front of the

television set without adult guidance, The violence approaches indecency, which is already regulated by the Federal Communications Commission. Unless the industry exercises a bit more self-censorship and a little more sense, it risks further government intervention.

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Pay the Cambodian Soldiers

War remains a fearsome possibility, since Cambodia remains a country with too many soldiers, bearing too many guns. Although all the factions agreed to disarm and demobilize their armies when they met in Paris in 1991 in sign the peace agreement that paved the way to last month's election, they have not honored their word. That UNTAC, the UN authority in Cambodia, has been unable in make them do so is its only serious failure so far. It now has to deal

with the consequences. The army is waiting to see who is most likely to meet its wage bill: Many soldiers have not been paid for months. UNTAC's idea is to bid for the 100,000 soldiers' lovalry

by paying their wages. This proposal is meeting some resistance at the UN's headquarters in New York. The fear is, first, that paying a national army would create an awkward precedent and, second, that it would cost \$5

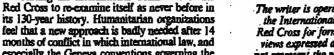
million to \$7 million a month. Precedents can be dangerous, but so is the future that Cambodia faces. Refusing to pay the army's wages risks consigning Cambodia to renewed civil war. Once a constitution is enacted and a legitimate government established, UNTAC's job will be done. For Japan, which has taken the lead in the Cambodian operation, one more act of generosity might ensure the success of its most ambitious postwar venture into international affairs. The money must be found.

- The Economist (London).

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especially the Geneva conventions governing the conduct of war, have been blatantly violated Something has gone very wrong when the international community narrows its choices to arguments for and against military intervention

ZAGREB, Croatia — The war in Bosnia is forcing the International Committee of the

and then flinches. Humanitarian organizations also have been caught off guard. For months neither they nor governments wanted to admit that the real stakes in the Bosnian war are not physical assets as easy

Relief workers are being asked to throw wheat flour at political problems.

to grasp as Kuwait's oil fields but the very population of Bosnia itself.

Officially, humanitarian organizations sought to prevent "ethnic cleansing," the forced transfer of populations, in the name of protecting the individual's right to remain at home as a matter of choice. Governments actively contributed in the opulent humanitarian aid approach as a matter of principle and expediency, they were determined to stem the alarming flow of refugees leaving Bosnia and seeking asylum abroad. Humanitarian aid was meant to help people survive until somehow the nightmare they were experiencing ended. Now we are forced to admit that we all have

falled — and created a dangerous precedent. The nightmare is still there, and spreading.
"Ethnic cleansing" was first practiced by Bosnian Serbs. More recently, Bosnian Croats copied them. The Muslims show signs of following suit.

When Aid Becomes a Substitute for Policy By Urs Boegli

The writer is operations coordinator of the International Committee of the Red Cross for former Yugoslavia. The views expressed are personal and do not represent the position of the ICRC.

The very civilian population that humanitar-ian aid sought to succor and protect now wants to leave home. In most cases, this population would eagerly agree to massive population transfers inside Bosnia along ethnic lines if only the roads were open and Bosnians were free to travel.

Like it or not, this war seems likely to end with Bosnians separated into their respective commu-nities in this new form of apartheid. If people no longer want to or are unable to live with each other, humanitarian organizations must learn to deal with that reality no matter how repugnant. Every day in the ICRC office in Banja Luka, Bosnian Croats and Muslims beg our staff to help them leave the Serbian-run city. Bosnians are exhausting hard currency savings to bribe themselves out of Serbian-held areas.

Every night hundreds of trapped Sarajevo residents brave bullets and shells — and detention by UN troops guarding the airport - scuttling across the runway to freedom. What has gone wrong? Throughout the Bosni-

an conflict, humanitarian organizations have been used to fill a political vacuum left by the world community. Relief workers are be asked to throw wheat flour at political problems.

Absent agreed policy, the international community, and more especially Western governments. have reacted in large part because of public indig-nation magnified by television footage of the suf-fering. Airlifts to Sarajevo and truck convoys all over Bosnia protected by UN troops create the illusion of helping — and indeed have helped. But they have not solved the problem. Far from it. Part of the problem lies in the end of the Cold

War Damage control was easier their Traditional tools of discreet diplomiticy could be brought to bear in Washington, London or Paris to persuade their Third World clients to allow the CRC to fulfill its mission. The Kremlin began playing by these rules under Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union's final years. But in the cra of what seemingly only yester-

day was being hailed as the new world order, the conflict in former Yugoslavia has shown the international community unwilling or unable to

formulate, much less carry out, a coherent policy. Humanitarian organizations should be part of an overall response, not a substitute for political policy. Governments should stop hijacking humanitarian organizations for their own purposes Governments and humanitarian organizations should start asking themselves tough questions and then try to work out new approaches together.

In this post-Cold War period have governments, especially those of the great powers, lost moral direction and a willingness for sacrifice, preferring ostrick-like to believe that their own material well-being will continue indefinitely un-threatened by the looming chaos that this conflict risks unleashing elsewhere, especially in Eastern Europe and what was the Soviet Union with its all too similar patchwork of jostling irredentist minorities?

For the alternative is not just more killing in Bosnia, as terrifying as that may be not just for the Bosnian victims and for the international community and humanitarian organizations

whose reputations are also being suffied.

With overextended front lines, are Bosnia's Serbs and Croats sure they can hang onto their war gains painlessly? Perhaps. Even so, the inter-national community risks emerging from Bosnia scarred and dishonored. It risks being challenged by meaner antagonists who, sooner than anyone wants to contemplate, may be backed by nuclear weapons rather than mere artiflery.

The Washington Post.

Now Watch the Fault Lines Between Civilizations

N EW YORK — World politics is entering a new phase in which the fundamental source of conflict will be neither ideological nor economic. The clash of civilizations will dominate.

Civilizations obviously blend and overlap and may include subcivilizations. Western civilization has two major variants, European and North American, and Islam has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. While the lines between them are seldom sharp, civilizations are real. They rise

are seadon sharp, divide and merge. And, as any student of history knows, civilizations disappear.

Westerners tend to think of nation-states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of history have been the history of civilizations. It is to this pattern that the world returns.

Civilization identity will be increasingly impor-tant and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilizations. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

Why? Differences among civilizations are basic. involving history, language, culture, tradition and, most importantly, religion. Different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the citizen and the state, parents and children, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centu-

ries. They will not soon disappear.

The world is becoming smaller, Interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing. They intensify civilization consciousness.

Economic and social changes are separating people from long-standing local identities. In much of the world, religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements labeled funnentalist — in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The "unsecularization of the world," George Weigel has remarked, is a fact of life in the late 20th century.

And a return-to-the-roots phenomenon is occur-And a remin-to-the-roots phenomenon is occur-ring among non-Western civilizations. This includes "Asianization" in Japan, the end of the Nehru legacy and the "Hinduization" of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and, hence, the "re-Islamization" of the Middle East, and a Russian debate over Westernization.

More importantly, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predom nance and to advance its economic interests engenBy Samuel P. Huntington

der countering responses from other civilizations. The central axis of world politics is likely to be the conflict between "the West and the rest," and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power and values. The most prominent example of anti-Western cooperation is the connection between Confucian and Islamic states that

are challenging Western values and power. In the former Soviet Union, Communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estoas. A person can be half-French and half-Arab

and even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim. Finally, successful economic regionalism will

In the short term, it is clearly in the interest of the West to promote greater cooperation and unity in its own civilization.

reinforce civilization consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization. The European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity. Japan, in contrast, faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because

it is a civilization unique to itself.

As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity and Orthodox Christianity and Islam has re-emerged. Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. This centuries-old

on the northern border of Islam, conflict has increasingly crupted between Orthodox and Muslim peoples. This includes the carnage of Bosnia and Sarajevo, the simmering violence between Serb and Albanian, the tenuous relations between Bulgarians and their Turkish minority, the violence between Ossets and Ingush, the unremitting slaughter of each other by Armenians and Azerbai-janis and the tense relations between Russians and Muslims in Central Asia.

The historic clash between Muslim and Hindu manifests itself not only in the rivalry between Pakistan and India but also in intensifying religious strife in India between increasingly militant Hindu groups and the substantial Muslim minority.

Groups or states belonging to one civilization that become involved in war with people from a different civilization naturally try to rally support

from other members of their own civilization. . In the coming years, the local conflicts most likely to escalate into major wars will be those, as in Bosnia and the Caucasus, along the fault lines between civilizations. The next world war, if there

is one, will be a war between civilizations. If these hypotheses are plausible, it is necessary to consider their implications for Western policy. These implications should be divided between shortterm advantage and long-term accommodation. In the short term, it is clearly in the interest of the

West to promote greater cooperation and unity in its own civilization, particularly between its European and North American components; to incorporate into the West those societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose cultures are close to those of the West; to maintain close relations with Russia and Japan; to support in other civilizations groups sympathetic to Western values and interests; and to strengthen international institutions that reflect and nate Western interests and values.

The West must also limit the expansion of the military strength of potentially hostile civilizations, principally Confucian and Islamic civilizations, and exploit differences and conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states. This will require a moderation in the reduction of Western military capabilities, and in particular the maintenance of American military superiority in East and Southwest Asia.

In the longer term, other measures would be called for. The West will increasingly have to accommodate to non-Western modern civilizations whose power approaches that of the West but whose values and interests differ significantly from those of the West. This will require the West to develop a much more profound understanding of the basic religious ilosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests. It will require an effort to identify elements of commonality among Western and other civilizations.

For the relevant future, there will be no universal civilization but instead a world of different civilizations, each having to learn to coexist with others.

The writer is professor of government and director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. This comment was adapted by The New York Times from the summer issue of Foreign Affairs.

about in the middle of the countries that make up the OECD, costs will double in the next 10 years. So don't

And don't get cute with price con-

trols. They can only work by reduc-

Rising costs of health care are natural and in one sense welcome in that they are accompanied by better

health. Market disciplines can keep the rises from becoming lunatic. Mr. Baumol's message is profound-

ly hopeful, much as was Keynes's. As long as productivity is growing in the economy as a whole, it makes no mat-

ter that it lags in some sectors. The

promise otherwise. Don't

If Europe Manages A Rebound

By William Safire

PARIS — Europe is entering the, third milleanium the same way it entered the second — with the Christians kicking the Muslims out. Many civilized Europeans are troubled by their New Barbarism.

They are embarrassed at the way Turkish workers, denied citizenship, are being harassed in a Germany still

arrogant about ethnic purity.

They are ashamed of their craven solution to the Balksn war - with Bosnian Muslims being herded into. refugee camps, where hatreds will fester and vengeance will be vowed. That is one reason for the gloom pervading this continent. A more plebeian reason is that business is lousy.

The unexpected price of German uni-ty led to the albatross of high interest. rates, which has aborted recovery. On top of all that, the utopian promise of 1993 — political as well as economic integration, creating global competition for the Asian and American markets — has been dashed by the reality of nationalism.

No wonder Europeans are savag-ing their leaders. In France, François Mitterrand is on his last legs, his Socialists swept from power; in Britan ain, John Major has sunk lower in the polls than any prime minister since polling began; in Germany, Helmut Kohl ducks Muslim funerals to appeal to his resentful right; Italian politicians by the score have been charged with being in the pockets of the Mafia. By the 1995 Group of Seven meeting, Bill Clinton may be

the veteran among rookies.

At such a low point, the poet Milton comes to mind: "Hence, loathed Melancholy!" (Modern poets would ren-

der that as "Gedoutahere, Gloom?")

Consider all that Europe's nations have going for them.

Hard times are doing what hard times are supposed to do: force an indicate the supposed to do: force an indicate the supposed to do: end to business inefficiency long encouraged by government-protected featherbedding. In post-Socialist France, 20 of the biggest companies —including Air France and Renault -will be privatized, and despite the anguish of managers being fired the slimmed-down companies will be competitive. Complacent German antomakers, too, have been awak-,

ened to the real world. On Europe's ideological front, lit-tle is left of the left. The discredited notions of redistribution of wealth, reward for doing nothing, penalties for enterprise and success - the ideas that undermined the profit motive and that hold down standards of living—are being abandoned even in Sweden. The complaining is heavy— from the entitlement brigades, but

the direction is right.
While concentrating on the ethnic problems caused by the Cold War's end, too many of what Mr. Clinton: calls "the preachers of pessimism": overlook the benefits: Spending on a armaments, which are essentially unproductive, will continue to be: cut. Fear of the Russians may have. been a unifier, but the absence of the :: fear of a loss of freedom is an unde-

The integration of Europe is now ; being approached with less messian-ic zeal. Monetary union has not worked. The good sense of the Danes (4) resulted in a loosening of the bonds of political union; only because of leaw "reservations" of sovereignty did Denmark's referendum approve the flawed Maastricht treaty. As the British and others demand the same flexi- " bility, the result should help the European Community without giving Brusselscrats the power to crush national diversity.

The business cycle will do its turn: animal spirits will revive: dejection will lift and prosperity will again be taken for granted. What then? Then the nations of Western Eu-

rope will have no ready excuse for . denying opportunity to the former So-1 viet bloc; or for refusing to share their rights of full citizenship with longtime, residents; or for unconscionably turns. ing their backs on the victims of invasion, repression and genocide.

Today, in the grip of gloom, the tired leaders of Europe's nations have failed their first post-Cold War test in the Balkans and imperiled the continnance of the U.S. presence in Europe. Tomorrow, on the rebound, En-rope's new leaders will be called on in

decide whether Europe will be the cradle or the grave of the "right to intervene" to defend human rights.

If so, they will find the American president as their ally in the adthey let the coming prosperity's vain

great educational task, as he writes, is "getting the public to recognize the difference between the reality and the illusion in the behavior of costs." delading joys bedazzle them — they will justify the doubts of today's prophets of doom. The Washington Post. The New York Times.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO 1893: Zola's Locomotion

PARIS --- A striking feature of social life at present is the popularity of the bicycle both as a means of locomotion and as amusement. It is used by members of both sexes, of all classes of society and of all professions. Even M. Emile Zola, who lives like a philo-sopher, exclusively for the develop-ment of his own individuality by means of unceasing literary labor, has submitted to the demands of the time and takes his exercise on a bicycle.

1918: Chaplain's Task

PARIS - Jim Goodheart is here and wants to know you. He is probably already known by name to at least half of the American army over here. His designation is Chaplain of Denver but his mission here is not primarily religious. He simply wants to do what be can to make it harder for the boys in the field to do wrong. He is doing this without any cant and without preaching morals. There is no Calabria were hard hit as well.

question of creed or sect. Rev. Good- , heart's view is that it is worthwhile to keep yourself in hand, especially while you are on foreign though friendly soil, because the eyes of the home folk are on you. They are proud of you. Jim Goodheart is doing what he can to keep the army clean.

1943: Attacks in Italy ALLIED HEADQUARTERS IN

NORTH AFRICA — [From our New York edition:] Tearing apart the Axis air opposition at the rate of 19. enemy planes destroyed to one allied craft lost, squadrons of Allied bombers kept the Italian islands and Italy itself under "almost continual attack" during the weekend." Communiques today [June 7] told of shattering assaults on Italian Mediterranean island defenses. Allied planes sweeping out "from North Africa and the Middle "East attacked the island of Pantelleria. Sicily and the continental supply ports of Messina San Giovanni and Reggio

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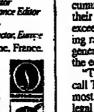
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Why the Rise in the Cost of Health Care Is Healthy By Daniel Patrick Moynihan

WASHINGTON — Start at the beginning. How many hours are required to produce one weekend of baby-sitting for a 2-year-old grandson? Answer, making allowance for light sleep and naps: about 80 hours per unit of production. (Details on request.) It was the same a century ago and will be the same a

Same story in kindergarten, high school, college classes. Same size as a century ago. Graduate seminars: one professor, nine students.

In the meantime, productivity in the manufacture of durable goods, for example, grows (1979-90) at 2.8 percent, doubling in 25 years.

One of the discoveries of William J. Baumol of New York University is the persistence in the patterns of dif-ferences in productivity growth be-tween economic sectors. In his Philo-

sophical Society paper he writes: A given sector of the economy does not usually fluctuate haphazardly between periods of relatively slow and relatively rapid advance in productivity. Rather, the industries in which productivity was expanding slowly a century ago are, by and large, the very ones that are still the

laggards of today,
The fact that productivity continnes to stagnate in those industries has imposed on them a price history that is the fundamental symptom of the cost disease of personal services. This cost disease phenomenon occurs when the services ... are plagued by cumulative and persistent rises in their costs, increases that normally exceed significantly the corresponding rate of increase for commodities generally, i.e., almost always outstrip the economy's rate of inflation.

The services in question, which I call The Stagnant Services, included, most notably, health care, education, legal services, welfare programs for the poor, postal service, police protection, sanitation services, repair services, the performing arts, restaurant services and a number of others that will soon suggest themselves."

The writer, a Democrat from New York, is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. This is the second of two articles.

The element that characterizes them all is the handicraft attribute of their supply process. Notice anything? Edu-cation, welfare, police, sanitation, All these are public sector activities, or mostly so. Is this immutably the case? Not that long ago, all of the above were in the private sector.

Let me offer, then, a subtext to

Baumol. Activities with cost disease migrate to the public sector, much as in olden times persons with polio made their way to Warm Springs or Saratoga. But mineral water does not cure polio, and the public sector does not cure Baumol's disease. It simply makes it more conspicuous. Hence America's quarter-century turmoil over the cost of government and,

now, the size of the deficit. The great migration in America's case took place during the Johnson-Nixon years, roughly 1964 to 1972. Look back at Mr. Baumoi's list. Almost every item can be matched up with a Great Society or New Federalism initiative.

Medicare, Head Start, Legal Ser-

vices, Child Nutrition, Safe Streets, Clean Water, the National Endowment for the Arts. From modest beginnings great expenditures grew, and conservatives got alarmed. In the early Reagan years, a budget crisis was deliberately allowed to de-

velop in the expectation that these costs would he cut back. In David Stockman's account, once a \$100 billion deficit appeared "we would have the ... craven politicians pinned to the wall. They would have to dismantle ... bloated, wasteful and unjust spending enterprises —or risk national ruin." He had made "fiscal necessity the mother of political invention." Well, not quite. The cuts never came, and in place of tax-and-spend we got borrow-and-spend. The pro-

blem was not craven politicians but

cost disease. In no time America was

a debtor nation - the price of not keeping up with the literature.

It is now the liberals' turn to face

this reality. Or else fail as conserva-tives failed. The basic liberal argu-ment — "complaint" would be the better term — is that we Americans don't spend enough. But cost disease decrees that on matters of special condecrees that on matters of special con-cern to liberals, you can never spend enough. In Mr. Baumol's words, these activities "are condemned to a pat-tern of spiraling increases in their real prices that appears to put them be-yond the reach of both the individual and the state."

But this is only appearance. As productivity brings the cost of commod-ities down, more can be spent on ser-vices, with no decline in consumption of goods. Assuming historical produc-tivity rates, Mr. Banmol expects that by the year 2040 Americans will be spending 35 percent of gross domestic product on health care and 29 percent on education. This compares with 11.6 and 6.7 percent in 1990.

If, however, these end up as gov-

emment costs, then government will have grown too large and politics too important. Liberalism will be seen to

have failed as badly as conservatism.

Health care reform will be the test. Technological advances in medical care have been spectacular (and costly), but labor-saving innovations are harder to come by because of the inherently handicraft nature of medical activities. The amount of physician time spent per patient-visit or per illness may have declined somewhat, but only marginally. (As cost disease the-ory would predict, the real income of physicians has been declining of late, having been virtually constant for a long period after World War II.) Mr. Baumol argues that it is not the amount of American bealth ever

the amount of American health care costs that matters but the rate of increase. At the present rate, which is

OPINION

The Chaos and Capitulation Are Worrying

N EW YORK — With apologies to Art Buchwald, who aid a similar dream in 1965 I awoke with a shudder the other morning from a terrible dream. I dreamt that George Bush had been re-elected last fall, and the country still had a president who was para-lyzed by fear of the political right. In the dream Mr. Bush caved in to right-wing opponents of cavil rights laws. Under attack from

vored-nation trade treatment for another year despite new accounts of Chinese cruelty toward political prisoners. He made only a dubious promise to impose human rights conditions next year.

Humanitarian pleas for Haitian political refugees got nowhere, ei-ther. President Bush kept turning the refugees back without giving them he withdrew his nomination

Real choices are harder than campaign promises. But there is something deeply wrong with the Clinton presidency. Something is lacking.

Mr. Bush tried to do something for the budget and the environment by setting realistic fees for grazing cattle on federal lands. But ranchers objected, and he caved in again. The wimp factor: That is what

of a president who did not have the courage of his convictions. Or did not have convictions. Bosnia was the most painful part of the dream. Mr. Bush went on wringing his hands and doing nothing. And the Serbs went on raping and killing and terrorizing the Bosnian Muslims to force them out.

of a personal friend, a law profes-sor, to emforce those laws. them a chance to prove that they were entitled to political asylum. He continued to hold HIV-positive refugees in a Guantanamo

The right won another victory in my dream, small but especially sweet for Jesse Helms. The Justice the dream brought back, memories Department asked for reversal of a federal judge's decision that the "decency clause" added to the standard for federal arts grants vi-olated the First Amendment of

If Bill Clinton had been elected, I thought, those things could not have happened. The censors and the opents of civil rights enforcement



Flag-raising over Bosnia.

LUTZ HERMANN.

Held Accountable

Regarding "The Muzzle of Cor-rectness" Has an Ugly History" (Meanwhile, May 13) by Richard

Before political correctness was labeled as such, it was called com-mon sense. You considered what

you said before you said it. Are we you said perore you said it. Are we now, in our speech, really nervously tiptoeing around "explosive subjects, hoping to avoid stepping on ... a land ruine," or are we just beginning to pay more attention to

beginning to pay more attention to what we say and how it affects others because we are being held ac-

countable for our words as never before? Being held accountable is always hard. A lot of people today have no practice at that.

Regarding "Adults Around the World Are Furious About This" (May 26) by Michael Kelly:

Mr. Kelly fails to see that Hillary Rodham Clinton and her genera-

tion, at their best and deepest, are on a religious quest.

The Christian tradition calls on

people to bear witness. The witness-

bearer, in this case Mrs. Clinton, is

one who voices the discontents of

society's silenced, ignored, abused or invisible members so that the silenced may find a voice, cry out for justice, demand to be seen. The witness is a disturber of the peace.

That is what Eleanor Roosevelt did, and the social worker Jane

Addams before her. Like them, Mrs. Clinton understands the power of the powerless. She will

find her voice, and her witness

Reading Michael Kelly's articles about Mrs. Clinton (May 25.

26), I had two misgivings, First, I

was unable to square her lamentations about deviant behavior with her support for abortion and ho-mosexuality. Second, Mrs. Clin-ton has been appointed to reform

the health care system and not Americans' evil ways. If the first lady wants to discuss theology

and metaphysics, I suggest she ap-ply for a faculty position at a di-

ANDY CORSINI.

CHARLES J. BUSSEY.

Aarhus, Denmark.

will bear fruit.

vinity school.

Bearing Witness

DEBORAH HOLMAN. Kuala Lumpur.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Clinton in the Trenches Kohl and the Skinheads

The media continue to inform us that President Bill Clinton lacks military experience and therefore Vinocur (Opinion, June 2): I agree absolutely that Chancellor cannot come to a decision regarding U.S. action in Bosnia. But if we look Helmut Kohl should have the courat recent U.S. presidents, we see that Harry Truman served as a low-ranking officer in World War 1, hardly a claim to knowledge of all things military: Ronald Reagan things military; Ronald Reagan helped make training films; and his way: a declaration here, some warnings there, a few empty phrases. Mr. Kohl can hardly be considered an excellent politician. George Bush was a teenage navy pilot; hardly qualifying him as a chilitary genius. Only Dwight Eisenhower had the required training to lead his country in time of hostility.

The problem lies not with Mr. Clinton's knowledge of things military but with the military top brass who refuse to fight except against a pushover foe like Iraq. W. R. HELLMANN.

Limassol, Cyprus.

Regarding "Clinton Is Booed at Vietnam Memorial" (June 1): Why do headlines so frequently accentuate the negative? Even when President Bill Clinton does

something that is clearly seen by the majority as positive — and the article says that there was far more applause than booing at his Viet-im Memorial appearance — the boos make the front-page headline. President Bill Clinton would seem to have a long and ardnous road ahead of him.

MARY H. THOMPSON.

Iraqi Refugees

Regarding For the Enemies of the Saudis' Enemy, a Cemetery' (Opinion, April 10) by Flora Lewis. The true situation in the Saudi

refugee camps has been verified by the United Nations and the International Red Cross, as well as prominent members of the Iraqi Shiite community and visiting journalists. Sadakn Ogata, UN high commissioner for refugees, who visited the Rafha camp in January, expressed her appreciation of the high living standards provided for the refugees.

for the refugees.

After visiting the camps, Saad
Saleh Jabr, chairman of the Free Iraqi council and an Iraqi Shiite, said of those he saw. "I have just returned from Saudi Arabia and I can confirm that they are very well under the good care of the Saudi government, which has provided all the necessities for their well-being. including food supplies of the high-est quality, air-conditioned dwellings, as well as financial allowances on a regular basis. They are completcly at liberty to travel to any country which is willing to accept them. None of them has ever been forced to leave Saudi Arabia. A few of them, however, have actually returned willingly and out of choice

Saudi Arabia is determined to continue doing everything within its means for the welfare of these

unfortunate people. M. RAA al-HUSSAINY. Saudi Arabian Embassy.

By Anthony Lewis overdue, of the gerrymandered minority districts" that trouble

Mr. Bush gave China most-fa-ored-nation trade treatment for U.S. leadership in the world would have supported human rights. The country would have seen change,

Of course it is unfair to Bill Clin-ton to suggest by irony that George Bush might as well be president. Some things have changed. Mr. Clinton signed the voter registration and family leave bills that Mr. Bush vetoed. He did away with the infamous abortion gag rule.

Moreover, real choices are harder than campaign promises. China has economic power. Admitting Haitians, even victims of persecution, has political costs. But there is something pro-foundly wrong with Bill Clinton's presidency. No one knows that

more than those of us who thought the country needed real change.

The Lani Guinier episode represented failure both political and moral. The bungling ended in an outright misrepresentation — that Mr. Clinton's decision to withdraw her nomination had no political basis. The result will embolden

right-wing obstructionists. In the

civil rights field, it will make more

about my center, not about the political center." The New York Times

Professor Guinier.

And the Guinier affair was only

the latest example of capitulation and chaos in this White House. The

record is full of jobs dangled and then withdrawn. Mayor Richard

Daley of Chicago was asked to be

ransportation secretary; he said
"yes," but then the job wasn't there.
To show that he is moving to the
center, Mr. Clinton has hared David

Gergen. Mr. Gergen is a fine man, but he is not a substantive political

figure, a representative Republican.

say. He is an opinion-shaper. With 43 percent of the vote, Mr.

Clinton should be near the center.

But the way to have done that, to

broaden his base, was to include

moderate Republicans in his ad-

is worrying about Bill Clinton is the possibility that something fun-

damental is lacking in this very

smart man. He may inadvertently

have said it in his comment on dropping Lani Guinier. "This is

Mistakes can be corrected. What

ministration at the start.

Do They Really Want to Be Part of This?

WASHINGTON — Euphemism is the uniform in which we cress up war. Sartorial phrases are necessary to cover the naked facts that are the horrendous reality of

battlefield slaughter.
When President Bill Clinton spoke of dispatching American pilots to kill people in Serbia who have been killing people in Bosnia, it was called, glossily, a show of force. The bombing of Serbian bridges, rail lines. storage areas and gun positions is what the

MEANWHILE

Pentagon refers to as "surgical strikes" — though when U.S. surgeon-pilots performed in Iraq, Lihya, Panama and Grenada, what followed was the butchery of civilians, not surgical removal of military cysts.

The Pentagon's decision to give women equal combat opportunities to kill and be killed was called by Representative Patricia Schroeder, a dedicated cupicanist. "an important step to full citizenship."

And the day after the gay rights march in Washington, several hundred gay veterans demonstrated at the Pentagon, with the spokesman announcing: "We're here to tell the men and women in that building that we are patriotic Americans and we are fit to serve our country." In other words -accurate ones -- "train gays to be killers."

By Colman McCarthy

War uself is a word of evasion. Other wars on drugs, crime, poverty — are waged and they are equated with exertions of moral resolve against social evils, not the organized taking of life. By that standard, troops sent into combat are serving a noble cause, not engaging in legalized homicide. Some soldiers understand, in post-combat shock, how they were suckered. William Cal-

ley, the American lieutenant charged with overseeing the massacre of more than 100 Vietnamese civilians in My Lai in 1968, recalled: "In all my years in the army I was never taught that Communists were human beings. We were there to kill ideology carried by — I don't know — pawns, blobs, pieces of flesh. I was there to destroy communism. We never conceived of old people, men, women, children, babies."

Women celebrating their acceptance into the cockpits of fighter planes and gays embracing warriorism represent a further militarization of the United States and an escalation of America's self-serving delusion that its

war machine produces peace. That women and gays are seeking to be equals in the rites of mass murder — once the preserve of heterosexual males — indicates how sorrily they have been failed by feminist

and gay rights leaders. Adolescent girls, as well as high school or college gays, need someone to hold high the ideal that compassion, justice and empathy are the basis of feminism and gay rights, and the military ethic is a raw betrayal of that ideal.

The push for equality in the armed forces is a phony gain. To be the ethical equal of men like Colin Powell or Norman Schwarzkopf is moral regression. They are pseudo-tough guys whose careers were marked by only one talent: advising presidents on the surest way of

annihilating people we don't like. Feminist and gay leaders ought to be calling for permanent boycotts of the military. Even aside from the Pentagon's long and sording record of demeaning women and harassing gays, there is the other horror that U.S. wars since World War II have been enslaughts against weak and poor people in the Third World. Nothing in Bill Clinton's current think-

World. Nothing in Bill Clinton's current thinking suggests a change in this policy.

Feminists and gays should be encouraging
their constituencies to be picketing military
bases, not groveling to get in. War is the
state's use of violence against people seen as
inferior and different. No cover-up of language—"full citizenship," "we are fit to serve
our country" — can hide the reality that
America's military is run by higots who view
women and gays as inferior and different.

Washington Post Writers Group.

Washington Post Writers Group.

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Kohl Says

He Feared

At Funeral

By Marc Fisher

Washington Past Service
BERLIN — Chancellor Helmut

Kohl said Monday he did not at-

tend memorial ceremonies for five Turkish victims of a neo-Nazi fire-

bombing because his appearance

would have prompted jeers from

protesters.

Mr. Kohl, whose decision to

avoid television or public appearances after the arson attack has

been sharply criticized within his

own party, said he did not need to

make symbolic gestures to prove his sympathy for Germany's I.8

vices at a Berlin cathedral Sunday,

his first public appearance in Germany since the attack eight days

earlier in the western city of Soling-

en, he was booed and jeered. Pro-

testers waved banners reading. "Mr. Kohl — is this more impor-tant than Solingen?"

A survey by the Forsa polling organization found that 62 percent of Germans believed Mr. Kohl

should have gone to the funeral of the two Turkish women and three

girls in Solingen. On the day of the

million Turkish residents. When Mr. Kohl attended ser-

Disruption ¢

From Diplomat to Princess The Press Massages Masako Owada's Image

By David E. Sanger New York Times Service

TOKYO - In Japan this month, only those as dead as the ancient emperors could miss these critical facts about Masako Owada: Her favorite coffee-shop lunch is a curry rice special; her Yorkshire terrier, Chocolat, was born in Scotland and joined the Owada family during a diplomatic mission to Paris, and the craftsmen who ruined her traditional Japanese kimono chests by covering the rich wood in tacky gold leaf are now very, very

For the casual channel-surfer or for anyone lingering in front of a subway newsstand these days, there is hardly a trivial detail you cannot learn about the savvy 29-year-old woman who on Wednesday will become the crown princess of

Unless, of course, you are eurious about what this onetime diplomat thinks about the future of Japan's relations with America — the subject to which she devoted the last decade — or how she may change the most sacred institution of modern Japan, its monarcby.

In a country whose press knows better than to step out of line when it comes to the imperial family, Miss Owada's public image has been transformed in recent weeks from that of a tough, independent Harvard-and-Oxford-trained trade negotiator to a soft-spoken, picture-perfect Japanese princess.

Japanese reporters talk about "helping" Masako-san, as she is now known throughout the country, in making the spiritual transition from the mative conference rooms where she once ham-mered out semiconductor accords to the mosscovered Shinto shrine where, out of view of even the 900 wedding guests, she will come to embody Japan's ancient soul,

But already the carefully fashioned image of Miss Owada is coming into sharp conflict with the one appearing abroad. Japanese news magazines and some officials have demanded apologies from American magazines whose coverage they deem "utterly impolite" and "disrespectful." Furthest off base, many Japanese say, are the incessant questions overseas about whether Miss Owada is somehow a victim, whose career and independence

are being being sacrificed for her country. "You are seeing the conflict of two very differ-ent journalistic traditions," said Kuniko lnoguchi,

Israel Calls Accord

A Pen Stroke Away

thus far and on their difficulties in

previous nine rounds.

and Gaza.

Palestinians aside, Israeli offi-

cials cite recent remarks by leaders

in several Arab countries, including Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as

suggesting that they, too, want to

For now, Mr. Peres said, the Is-

move negotiations ahead.

By Clyde Haberman

New York Tunes Service
JERUSALEM — Israeli leaders

offered unusually optimistic assess-

ments Monday of the Middle East

peace talks, with Foreign Minister

Shimon Peres saying that Israel

and Jordan were so close to an

agreement that "we just have to

. He echoed similar remarks made

several days ago by the new Jorda-

Majali, who forecast break-

throughs before the end of the year

that could produce Israeli accords with other Arab neighbors as well.

But Israeli officials cautioned that their newly expressed opti-

mism did not reflect a specific ac-

'a concrete deal with any Arab dele-

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

was said by a spokesman to have

specifically told members of parlia-

Monday that he expected no break-

throughs in the next round of talks,

scheduled to begin June 15.

Morever, Mr. Peres's hopeful

comments about Jordan describe a

situation that has been evident for

would require very little for Israel

and Jordan to agree on an agenda

that declares their goal to be a for-

mal peace treaty within the frame-

work of a comprehensive Israeli-

ter observed, the Jordanians are

not about to race ahead of the other

Arab delegations, certainly not before Israel reaches a settlement

with the Palestinians in occupied

And so, after the various state-

ments are stripped to their basics.

they do out suggest that anything

of substance has changed in the

stutter-start negotiations that be-

air of gloom that had set in, espe- pen and sign."

gan in Madrid in October 1991.

West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

But as the Israeli Foreign Minis-

at least seven months - that it

nian prime minister, Abdul-Salam

take out the pen and sign."

a professor at Sophia University here and a friend of Miss Owada's since the future princess's days as a Harvard undergraduate, "one that says too little, and one that sometimes says too much."

Nothing brought the different approaches into starker contrast than an issue of Newweek, which is published here in both English and Japanese. A few weeks ago, when a kimono-clad Miss Owada appeared on the cover, the magazine's Englishlanguage cover declared her "The Reluctant Princess," a reference to how she had kept Crown Prince Naruhito at bay for six years while she jeited around the world.

While the same picture appeared on the cover of Newsweek's Japanese-language edition, the head-line was "The Birth of a Princess." The magazine's editors, who operate under a license from News-week in the United States, say that "refuctant" is awkward to translate, but they have also explained to the Japanese press that they try to use particular caution when writing about Japanese.

But that has paled in comparison to the reaction

here to stories suggesting that Miss Owada, like most bright and interesting women her age, may have had a boyfriend or two in the past. Vanity Fair made big headlines here when it made lessthan-flattering comments about Miss Owada's appearance and ran every unsubstantiated rumor of past loves. Its article was also filled with unattributed, direct quotations from private conversa-tions in which Empress Michiko was trying to persuade Miss Owada in marry her son.

That raised many eyebrows among Japanese, the more charitable of whom thought that the magazine must have confused this monarchy with one half a world away.

"This is Japan bashing," concluded the popular weekly Shukan Shincho. "If Japanese magazines wrote this kind of thing based on hearsay and rumors about President and Mrs. Clinton, there

would be fierce protests all over America." While Japanese reporters have invested huge amounts of time and energy into investigating the future empress's past social life, not a word of it has gotten into print. One reporter for a major Japanese newspaper explained recently that the investigations were defensive, in case another publication - one of Japan's racier weekly magazines or the foreign press — risked good taste and the wrath of Japan's rightists by publishing such sto-



New York police escorting survivors away from the heach after the freighter went aground with illegal Chinese aliens abourd.

For Illegal Aliens, Burden of a Village's Trust

By Nicholas D. Kristof

New York Times Service

BEJING — The desperate risks that Chinese take to get to the United States and the southern Fujianese dialect is dominant in Taiwan. President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan and Corazon C. Aquino, Inited States and Corazon C. Aqui United States reflect the burden of the former president of the Philip-the trust that has been placed in pines, are among the many overthem by friends and family. seas Chine Very few Chinese can afford the to Fujian.

thousands of dollars demanded by the "snakeheads," or smugglers. So those who yearn for a better life in the United States borrow from relatives, friends and even neighbors.

They may carry with them an. entire village's hopes for a better future, for if the migrant prospers in the United States he will send back money and help others mi-grate as well. But if he is caught and sent back, he has not only bumiliated himself but wasted the savings of those who bet their money on

Why do they go?

Some want more political or religious freedom, or to escape from the tyranny of the village Commi-

Many are peasants, especially young men. The per capita income for peasants in China is only about \$125 a year, and land is so scarce that most can look forward to farming only a fraction of an acre. Most of the migrants come from Fujian Province, a hilly coastal region opposite Taiwan. The boldest people of Fujian have been emi-

when the first waves began sailing for Taiwan and Southeast Asia.

be comfortable and the journey easy, that it is simple to make a fortune in Meiguo, "the beautiful country," as the United States is called in Chinese. seas Chinese who traces their roots Today Fujian is richer, than The phenomenon of the boat many other parts of China, but it is people is a consequence of the ecostill clear to any Fujianese peasant that those who migrate do better

nomic liberalization in China, and of the Communist Party's dimin-

ishing control over the population.

Private boats used to be rare, wealth was difficult to hide, and

offer. Smugglers tell prospective

migrants that ship conditions will

villages. But these days, the eco-nomic boom and loosening of gov-erument policies bave resulted in a profusion of private boats and far greater mobility for peasants.

No one either notices or complains if a peasant disappears from his village, or if a worker resigns from his factory job. And the Fu-jian coastline is dotted with boats that since the early 1980s have done

funeral, Mr. Kohl's office reported that the chancellor was in his office and had no appointments.

Whether I went to the funeral a thriving business in smuggling goods from Taiwan and Hong Kong. or not has nothing to do with the question of my friendship with Turkey," Mr. Kohl said in a television interview. "Now, if I had gone there, and I were then booed down

by a particular group, that would have been the proof that I pro-voked the Turkish or German reac-"I know what kind of images go around the world and what don't," he said. "So I know how to behave

Mr. Kohl appeared to be refer-ring to the public relations debacle the Bonn government suffered last fall when it organized a mass proforeigner demonstration in Berlin. Mr. Kohl originally opposed stag-ing the event, fearing it would be

disturbed by radicals. That is exactly what happened. roducing pictures of President Richard von Weizsäcker standing helplessly behind a wall of police riot shields protecting him from a shower of paint bombs and eggs. What was supposed to be a demon-stration of German popular outrage over anti-foreigner violence became instead a symbol of the government's inability to get a grip

on violent extremism.

Mr. Kohl said anti-foreigner tensions in Germany bad been caused not by the large number of Turks living in the country, but by "the problem of economic refugees, which has for far too long remained

The chancellor said be would act soon to ease the plight of young German-born Turks, who face tight restrictions on access to German citizenship. We must find a solution for these young people who were born in Germany, who have foreign heritage and who want to remain here," Mr. Kohl said.

Without directly addressing calls 🛵 for Turks and other foreigners to be allowed to carry double citizenship, Mr. Kohl said Germany's citizen ship law, which dates from 1913 and grants a German passport only to people born to German parents, should be re-examined.

Mr. Kohl's party opposes granting foreigners double citizenship. It argues that new Germans should be required to demonstrate their illegiance to the country by accepting responsibilities such as military service. Most double citizenship proposals would let German-born Turks choose whether to serve in

the German or Turkish forces. The opposition Social Democrats, who propose dramatically easing citizenship requirements. said Turks deserve a sign that the government wants to integrate them into German society. Several leading German officials warned Monday of escalating ex-

tremist violence. "I fear that an avalanche has

been unleashed that we can no longer stop," said Hans-Dieter Schwind, chairman of the government's Anti-Violence Commission. "It is probably already too late. This is just the beginning." Attacks on Turks and other for-

eigners continued over the weekend. A firebomb thrown into the home of a Lebanese family Sunday night injured one person near the western city of Dortmund. A Turkish restaurant was burned to the ground in Konstanz near the Swiss border, there were no injuries. In a town near Solingen, a Turkish woman and her five children fled a blaze that destroyed their home.

SMUGGLE: A Rising Tide of Illegal Chinese in U.S. Continued from Page I do, they might have chosen another increasingly common tactic for tives to come up with the \$25,000 to cials said. Twenty-four boats have

been intercepted by the American authorities, who have sharply in-creased their efforts to monitor the

than those who stay behind.

The yearning to flee is com-pounded by unrealistic expecta-

"What we are witnessing is the continuation of a deplorable trend," said William S. Slattery, director of the New York office of the Immigration and Naturaliza-

If the immigrants who came ashore in Queens follow a pattern that has become common, they will seek asylum in the United States by claiming that they face persecution in their homeland because of China's population-control policies, people of Fujian have been emi-grating since the 17th century, only one child, immigration officials said.

But if the immigrants had suc-Even today. Fujianese dialects ceeded in sneaking into the coun-

winning a legal place in the United States - a false claim that they had been here since the 1989 uprising in Tiananmen Square, the officials said. Government policy allows those people to remain in the Unit-Immigration and police officials

said the immigrants typically agree to pay smugglers tens of thousands of dollars for the trip and end up in a system of indentured servitude operated in the United States by Chinese gangs. Law enforcement officials said many illegal Chinese aliens worked off their debts in Chinese restaurants in New York and New Jersey.

Two weeks ago, 57 illegal Chinese immigrants were found in a warehouse in Jersey City, New Jer-

\$30,000 per person demanded for their release. Some told the police they had entered the United States on font from Mexico; others said they entered by airplane, and some said they came by ship, but were unable or unwilling to say where the ship had dropped them off.

For the human cargo of the Golden Venture, the journey to a home in the United States stands a good chance of success, in part because Chinese applications for pobtical asylum are treated more favorably than others, immigration lawvers say. About 80 percent of Chinese ref-

ugees who formally apply for asy-lum are granted it, compared to about 35 percent overall, according to Arthur C. Helton, director of the Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights-in New York City.

are common in Singapore and try, as they apparently planned to smupplers as they waited for rela-Wary of Allen, Judge Rules for Farrow

NEW YORK — Woody Allen lost his bitter child custody battle with Mia Farrow on Monday when a judge questioned whether with most on Monday when a judge questioned whether with most on Moses, 15, and their natural with most of their adopted son, Moses, 15, and their natural with most of their adopted son, Moses, 15, and their natural with most of their natural with most o he could ever be a fit parent and criticized the filmmaker's affair with Ms. Farrow's oldest

adopted daughter, Soon-Yi Farrow Previn. The judge, Elliott Wilk of New York Su-preme Court, denied almost all of Mr. Allen's requests to see his three children and questioned a report by child-abuse experts that had exoderated him of sexually abusing his

adopted daughter, Dylan, 7,
"Mr. Allen's relationship with Dylan remains unresolved," the judge said. "The evidence suggests that it is unlikely that he could be successfully prosecuted for sexual abuse. I am less certain, however, than is the Yale-New Haven team that the evidence proves conclusively that there was no sexual abuse." In addition to being denied custody, the filmmaker was banned from regular visits with Dylan for at least six months. The only way be can see her is to take part in sessions

with Dylan and a psychotherapist. Dylan is already working with another therapist. The seven-week public trial had focused on allegations that Mr. Allen had sexually abused Dylan last summer. Mr. Allen has denied the charges, and he was exonerated by medical experts who studied the allegations. But Judge Wilk sided with psychologists for Ms. Farrow, who said it was possible that the

Ms. Farrow, who said it was possible that the abuse had in fact taken place.

"It is unclear whether Mr. Allen will ever develop the insight and judgment necessary for him to relate to Dylan appropriately," the

ral son, Satchel, 5. Judge Wilk was also highly critical of Mr. Allen's affair with Ms. Previn, 22, which caused his break-up with Ms. Farrow. He said Mr. Allen "showed no understanding that the bonds developed between adoptive brothers and sisters are no less worthy of respect and protection than those between logical siblings."

Mr. Allen, 57, and Ms. Farrow, 48, parted in January 1992 after she found photographs showing Ms. Previn naked in his apartment. Mr. Allen admits that be never considered the consequences of his behavior with Soon-Yi," Judge Wilk said, noting that two doctors had testified that Mr. Allen "still fails to understand that what he did was wrong." He described Mr. Allen as "self-absorbed,

untrustworthy and insensitive." One of the few victories for Mr. Allen was that be will be allowed to see Satchel three times a week, up from the present twice. But

the visits must be supervised.

Legal experts said that the decision to bar
Mr. Allen from unsupervised visits with Dylan and Satchel was the strongest action against the filmmaker, showing that the judge had doubts about whether be could be trust-

"My caution is the product of Mr. Allen's demonstrated inability to understand the im-pact that his words and deeds have upon the The judge added: "He did not bathe his

children. He did not dress them, except from time to time, and then only to help them put on their socks and jackets. He knows little of Moses' history, except that he has cerebral palsy; he does not know if he has a doctor. He does not know the names of Dylan and Satchel's pediatrician. He does not know the names of Moses' teachers or about his acadernie performance. He does not know the names of the children's dentist. He does not know the names of his children's friends. He does not know the names of any of their many pets. He does not know which children shared bedrooms. He attended parent-teacher conferences only when asked to do so by Ms. Farrow.

Ms. Farrow, clearly pleased, said she was glad the ordeal was over. "I'm so grateful to have the family that I have and that this judge has seen to it that they will be protected." she said.

"I hope I can go home to my children and have some measure of peace and to heal, and that we can wake up to a real normal day,"

Mr. Allen's attorney, Elkan Abramowitz, "We're happy that the rights of visitation has been established by this court order and that it will be done within a therapeutic context," he said, alluding to the sessions to be held with Mr. Allen, Dylan and a thera-

emotional well-being of his children," Judge

KASHMIR: Chilling Tales of Fear and Terror in India's Dirty New War

two of the three wars fought be-tween Pakistan and India, both of countries as one of the world's most which lay claim to the jagged likely flash points for nuclear war. snowy peaks and lush green valleys A growing number of political obwhere generations of British coloservers in the region believe that nialists escaped the New Delhi heat the 46-year-old struggle can only be abourd houseboats floating screne-resolved with pressure from the U.S. military officials view tions.

Kashmir and the tensions it has entered the debate by warning Pa-kistan that it risks being named a terrorist state if it continues arming, training and financing the guerrillas in Kashmir. U.S. officials also have raised concerns with India over alleged buman-rights abuses by its military forces. United States or the United Na-

> In addition to its political standoff with Pakistan, India finds itself in a struggle with its own people. Kashmir was granted an unusual status during the partition of Paki-stan and India in 1947, and it bas remained a disputed territory ever since. In the last four decades, the residents' sentiments have fluctuated apathy to a desire to become part of Pakistan to support for in-dependence from both countries.

Violence erupted in late 1989 when militant Kashmiris, frustrated by years of political stalemate, drew strength from the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under pressure from guerrilla forces. Aided by arms and other support from Pakistan, the militant

The conflict has become to India

Although the new strategy of enwhat the Vietnam War was to the hancing U.S. ties with Ukraine was ghanistan to the Soviet Union: a provoked some grumbling in debilitating conflict costing millions of dollars and thousands of in Moscow.

The United States recently has lives with no coherent political policy to control it and little chance of

"It's an absurd figure we're spending for on reason whatso-ever," Salman Khurshid, India's minister of state for external affairs, said in describing the budget drain of deploying a minimum of 300,000 troops along the Indian-Pakistani border and throughout

UKRAINE: Aspin's Plan Gains

reapons sales to Ukraine and also

did not discuss Ukrainian demands for economic compensation before arrendering the nuclear warheads.

The senior official on Mr. Aspin's plane said the proposals were meant to "turn the page" in U.S. relations with Ukraine, quoting a phrase be said was coined by the author of the new strategy, Graham Allison, a former Harvard profes-Kashmiris launched their own war sor of political science nominated to become an assistant secretary of defense for policy planning.

United States and the war in Af- obviously welcomed in Kiev, it has

U.S. officials say Russia remains deeply suspicious of Ukraine's intentions and insisted that it not be rewarded for reluctance to surrender the weapons.

Some officials in Washington also remain skeptical that Ukraine can be persuaded to give up its nuclear weapons by anything less than a tough U.S. line.

Speaking of the new U.S. proposals, a U.S. official said "Ukraine basically likes them all" and "Russia is skeptical of them

Under the weapons storage option, an estimated 1,600 to 1,800 warheads would be withdrawn from silo-based missiles and an estimated 600 to 800 cruise missiles meant for deployment on bombers.



People at the top read the Trib.

Herald Eribune.

UN Deaths Put Somalia nist Party secretary, but the most powerful force usually appears to be the yearning for a better life. On Edge cially among the Palestinians. whose leaders have often focused far more on the lack of progress

By Keith Richburg Washington Past Service

persuading people that it is worth-while to keep talking. MOGADISHU, Somalia -Arab representatives meeting Tension ran high here Monday as Pakistani soldiers shot and possibly Monday in the Jordanian capital said that all the Arab parties would killed two suspected snipers, Soma-lis erected makeshift barricades on show up in Washington next week, dispensing with the will-they-orsome main roads, and the country's won't-they-come drama that had main warlord blamed United Napreceded almost every one of the tions troops for the weekend out-burst that halted relief efforts and Since President Clinton took ofraised fears the country was beaded

fice, the United States, as chief sponsor, has said that it is ready to UN troops again stayed largely off the streets, preferring to patrol the capital by helicopter following become a "full partner" in the But it has not spelled out what that means, and it seems to be waiting for the parties to make progress day that killed at least 23 Pakition that has pushed them closer to that means, and it seems to be waitgation, whether it be Jordan, Syria. on their own before jumping in stanis - the highest UN loss of with full force, as some Israeli officacekeepers since 1961, when 4

Ghanians were killed in the Congo. cials say will be necessary if there are ever in he peace treatles. "At this point, we'd rather just Several political commentators here said that Israeli leaders may observe from the air as much as possible," said a U.S. Army major, David Stockwell, the UN military have decided to accentuate the positive at this point as a political spokesman in Somalia. He detactic, to show both their own couscribed the situation around the sutuents and the Arabs that the

city as "stable but still tense." negotiations, far from meandering, Around the sprawling American Embassy compound, where UN troops have their headquarters, solcan produce tangible results with a A sense of direction, they said, is diers erected new barricades, and particularly important to keep the Turkish and Tunisian sentries moved armored Bradley fighting Palestinians' interest alive as the two sides negotiate a declaration of vehicles into defensive positions principles on future self-rule for the 1.8 million Arabs in the West Bank

around the perimeter. Somalis, too, appeared to be setung up fresb barricades of their own, twisted metal debris and steel poles blocking the streets leading to the residential compound of the man accused of orchestrating the weekend violence, General Mo-hammed Farrah Aidid. As heavy rains began falling on the city, both sides appeared to be bracing for a

rael-Jordan track offers the clearest hope for a breakthrough.
"What is missing in Israeli-Jorpossible assault by the other. danian relations is a pen and ont an Pakistani military officials reagreement because essentially we vised their casualty figures to 23 confirmed dead and 59 wounded in Nonetheless, atmospherics count have reached agreement," he said in this region. The readiness to be in remarks broadcast on Israel Rathe Saturday attacks, with some hopeful contrasted sharply with an dio. "We just have to take out the Pakistani soldiers still missing and

possibly being held hostage. "There may be some soldiers still missing." Major Stockwell said, re-fusing to disclose any further de-tails. UN officials also declined to speak further about the missing, saying their lives might be in jeop-ardy if ton much information was

On Monday, five of the missing Pakistani soldiers — two of them wounded — were released by the main Somali militia being blamed,

Two of the soldiers had suffered gunshot wounds, and they de-scribed how they had been general-ly well treated but kept locked in a Somali bouse until their release to the Italian government envoy here.

They described how they fought off their attackers at n feeding center on the edge of a crowded mar-ketplace until they ran out of ammunition, and how they watched belplessly as U.S. or Italian helicopters bovered overbead, exchanging fire with the gummen and probably unable to see the Pakistanis in cover.

Following the hastily crafted UN Security Council resolution on Sunday, which authorized UN troops to arrest and hold for trial those responsible for organizing or instigating last weekend's bloody ambushes, there was a heavy mood of anticipation bere that some type of UN offensive or retaliatory attack may be imminent.

Military officials here declined to specify what they were considering in response to the attacks.

ISLE: Carriacou's Cry for Liberty

Continued from Page I enough to rest in potholes because of the lack of traffic. "I wouldn't speak of an insurrec-

tion, but whenever government is destructive to the rights of its citizens, the people must contemplate their own liberation," Mr. Clouden intoned gravely, talking up the iden of forcing a vote on secession in the next elections. "When we meet eyeball to eyeball, every true Carriacourn simply wishes to be left

But while Mr. Clouden dreams of a new republic nourished by what he says could be a boom in things like tourism and international ship registry, many of his fellow alted aspirations.

"I am one of those people who appropriately low-key, act of defi-ance for a slumbering fishing settle-patience," said Culbbert Snagg, a believe that we have to have a little ment where chickens feel secure shirtless 32-year-old who was repairing the small boats he rents to the occasional tourist. "It is true that Grenada has neglected us, but we should focus on getting a few basics, like running water and some paved roads. Otherwise, I am alraid people will be expecting much ton much too soon."

On the streets of Hillsborough, the waterfront town of 600 that would serve as capital if this 16square-mile speck of land were to achieve its dream of independence, others put this sentiment more simply, but with similar conclusions.

"The Grenadians are a hit different from us, but I can't say exactly Carriacouans seem to bave less ex- . why," said Lennox Corion, a taxi



Street styles in Tokyo's Shibuya district, top, and designers, bottom from left: Konishi's brightly patterned, tex-

STYLE MAKERS

The Singapore Girl

DEBUT AT TUSSAUD'S International Herald Tribune

INGAPORE - When the life-size figure of a Singapore Airlines flight attendant is installed this month at Madame Tussaud's waxworks in London alongside such other recently arrived celebrities as Presidents Bill Clinton and Saddam Hussein, it will mark a significant broadening of horizons for one of Britain's most popular tour-

Asia, with almost two-thirds of the world's population, can hardly be said to be prominently represented among the 350 or so wax models of luminaries from politics. sports, film, television, stage, royal-ty, history, the arts and crime who draw more than 2 million visitors a

year to the London gallery. Of the six Asians in Madame Tussaud's collection, four are dead and one, Chiyono Fuji, a former

H YPERMODERNISM is old in the annals of military com-

bat but a late comer to chess. While

its strategy of provoking opponents to overreach themselves and then

surround and destroy their frailly supported, advanced units did not

become a self conscious approach to the chess openings until the rise

of players like Richard Reti, Gyula

Breyer and Aron Nimzovich in the

1920's, this had been stock in trade

to the Spartan infantry at least as early as the Persian Wars in the Fifth Century B.C.

No opening better exemplifies

hypermodernism than the Alek-

hine De fense, in his game with the Dutch grandmaster John Van der Wiel from Round 1 of the Sixth

Klooster Tournament in Ter Apel, the Netherlands, in early April,

with its 1 ... Nile teasing White to seize space with 2 es. After 9 Nis.

White has a nice bridgehead at e5

and is threatening to enlarge it with an early d5. Black slows that down

The exchange with 10 ... Bf3 11 gf (11 Bf3? permits 11 ... No4) slightly loosens the white kingside,

yet this cannot be exploited by 11.
Oh4 12 Bf2 Qf4 13 c5 Nd7 14 Qd2
Qd2 15 Kd2 O-O-O 16 Kc2; which

ielded White an endgame space

with 9 ... Bg4.

CHESS

By Robert Byrne

champion sumo wrestler of Japan, has retired from the ring.

Only Benazir Bhutto, a former prime minister of Pakistan who heads the country's main opposi-tion party, is still engaged in the activity for which she was chosen to appear in wax.

The appearance at Madame Tussaud's on June 18 of the Singapore Airlines flight attendant, whom most people know as the Singapore Girl, will be a small acknowledg-ment of the growing commercial force of East Asia — and of the power of advertising.

With about half its visitors arriving by air from outside Britain, including a growing number from Asia, the wax museum decided to shift its focus a bit

"We felt that as people are traveling more and more by air, we should represent that as well," said Juliet Sirnkins, head of press and publicity at Madame Tussand's.

Singapore Airlines was chosen. she explained, because it had pro-

moted itself for more than 20 years
by using women in the cabin crews
to appear as the Singapore Girl in
ought to be abolished.

Lim Suct Kwee, the flight attendant who sat for the wax sculptors at Madame Tussaud's, was drawn from about 50 of the airline's cabin crew members.

Dressed in the airline's uniform, a sarong kebaya designed in batik by the French couturier Pierre Balmain, the Singapore Girl has been seen in many exotic locations from the Dom Perignon château-vineyard in France to Mount Fuji in Japan - by countless viewers

and readers. As a result, the Singapore Girl has become "a global icon," Sim-kins said.

Position after 26 Ke3

Res. Thus, 28 KI5 Ne7 29 Kg5 (29

Ke4 f5 30 cf Rf6 is also fatal) h6 30

Kh5 Qh2 31 Rh4 g6 32 Kg4 f5 33 ef h5 34 Rh5 gh mate. Van der Wiel

alekrine depense

White Van der Wiel

TOCOTA BEEF SES

gave up.

Since the airline was established in 1972, it has committed more than 750 million Singapore dollars (\$470 million) to the Singapore donais (\$470 million) to the Singapore Girl advertising campaign, includ-ing 100 million Singapore dollars budgeted for 1993 alone. Nevertheless, some cribes of the

advantage in a J. Pakkinen-T. Kilpi

But Vaganian countered sharply

with 13 __ Bb4!. the immediate tactical point being that 14 dc? loses to 14 __ Qc6. After 14 Bb6 ab 15 Bt3

ed 16 cd Qh3. White still had a finelooking center, but his king was uncomfortable in the center. Va-

ganian's threat was 17 _ Qh4 and

Van der Wiel did what he had to

do, 17 Ke2 but, of course, that did

nothing for his king's safety. Vaganian quickly opened lines against the enemy king with 20 ... b5! 21 Ob5 c6! 22 dc bc. The Dutchman

could not capture with 23 Bc6? be-

cause of 23 ... Qc3 24 Rhc1 Rd2 25

Kf1 Qe3. On 23 Qc4 Ng6!, Van der Wiel could not even dream of 24 Bc6?

because 24 ... Rd3! would be tremendous (25 Qd3? Nf4 wins the

white queen).
After 24 ... Qf5 (24 ... Qh2 should

After 24 ... Qf5 (24 ... Qh2 should also win) 25 Rg4 Qc2. Van der Wiel avoided 26 Kf1 hecause 26 ... Rd3! 27 Rg3 (27 Be4? Rd1 28 Rd1 Qd1 29 Kf2 Qg4 picks up a rook) Rc3 28 Qe4 Qh2 29 Rg4 Qh3 30 Kf2 Nh4 31 Rg3 Qh2 32 Rg2 Ng2 33 Bg2 f5! 34 cf Rf6 is crushing. Van der Wiel tried to brazen it out with 26 Kc3, bnt after 26 ... Qd2 27 Ke4 Rd5!, there was no way out

27 Ke4 Rd5!, there was no way out of the mating net with 28 ... 15 29 ef

encounter in Helsinki last year.

"Just how many more Singapore Airlines stewardesses must be mo-lested in flight before the airline reduces the free flow of alcoholic drinks to passengers?" thundered Tan Sai Siong in a recent column for the Straits Times, Singapore's main English-language newspaper.

AN was writing after a German metalworker was fined 2,000 Singapore dollars for bngging a Singapore Airlines flight attendant during a flight from Frankfurt to Singapore. A Japanese farmer was docked a similar amount for molection a flight attendant during a lesting a flight attendant during a flight from Nagoya to Singapore.

At about the same time, a Sri Lankan was fined 1,000 Singapore dollars for punching a male Singa-pore Airlines flight attendant who told him to stop staring at a female colleague in the cabin crew and return to his seat.

In a letter to the Straits Times, a Singaporean reader, Chan Kwee Sung, said it was not "alcohol that sung, said it was not "aicono that spurs the libido of the male passen-ger, but the image of the Singapore Girl that has so long been the hard sell of SIA all over the world." The airline disputes this. "We

carry over 8 million passengers a year, and although 1 do not have exact figures, the number of inci-dents is certainly very small and, as far as we know, no greater than on other airlines, said Karmjit Singh, assistant director of corporate af-

"We have no reason to change a successful advertising and marketing communications program," he added.

Michael Richardson

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Next-Generation Shopping Society

By Suzy Menkes

OKYO — Megami Ikeda, 18. :s taking a sunny Sunday stroll through the hip streets of the Shibuya distinct.
Clomp, clomp, clomp go her clogs.
Thump goes the wooden pendant on a leather

thong on the chest of her apron dress.
"The shoes are because they are easy to wear -and in fashion," she explains. "The necklace I created myself from a branch I found, because believe in handicraft and in nature."

There you have the spirit of a new generation in Tokyo, where ideology, ecology and pragmatism are replacing the forward march of the

shopping society.
It is the feet you notice first in Shibuya. On the Ginza — Tokyo's upscale shopping area — there is pale hose with pastel pumps on feet as dainty as Japanese women's were supposed to be when they walked two paces behind their menfolk. Down on Meji Dori, women sinde out: clogs clattering under long wrap skirts; high-top train-ers with hefty socks and wide pants; heavy boots below bare legs and wide shorts. These women seem a world away from the shuffling steps in formal kimono in which nice young girls wed.

The marriage Wednesday of Japan's crown prince to Masako Owada is causing people to examine the nature of Japanese woman in the 1990s. The debate is whether the highly educated Owada is, as American feminists see her, a "reluctant princess," wrenched between a modern desire for career and freedom and the traditional Japanese ideal of duty to family. Or had she, as businesswomen in Japan more cynically suggest, long since reached the "glass ceiling in her Foreign Ministry career and risked, at 29, being left on the shelf?

You don't have to enter the future-empress debate to see a new woman cut on Tokyo's streets. In Shibuya, 400 readers of Olive, a lively teenagers' magazine, lined up to compete for the title Jeans Queen 1993.

Ryoko Hada, 18, was wearing a tie-dye den-im skirt with mesh vest over a T-shirt and the inevitable clogs. Her friend had put Reebok trainers under layers of long skirt and carried a hand-held wicker purse - a favorite accessory. along with an electronic pager so that a boy-friend can keep in touch.

You can also find in fashion the politics of protest on the boardwalk in Harajuku, where rock bands attract punks with spiky hair and torn clothing and sexually brazen Madonna wannabes, Mainstream youth culture is American sportswear: T-shirts, baseball caps and trainers, with a touch of grunge and a few young boys following black culture, with baggy rap sweats, track pants and dreadlocks.

Japan's new-wave fashion designers echo the

inspirations and aspirations of a generation that is no longer fixated on either the status quo or status-symbol clothes.
"Maybe Masako will be a model for Japanese

women — but my life is very different," says designer Chisato Tsumori, who graduated from Tokyo's Bunka fashion college and joined Issey Miyake in 1977. Three years ago he backed her to launch her own collection.

and handwork. The result is a collection with an ethnic feel in its madras patchworks and naive knit-appliques of jungle animals. Her winter line is unshows: the colors suffused with brown and red berry-juice colors; the fabrics in shrunken wool, patchworks of tweed and knit; reversible coats; long, loose layers. For evening, the styles are not sexy, but rich in their different textures of black.

There are different types of women and many fashions in the stores — people choose according to lifestyle," says Tsumon, "Now



Heavy shoes are the new spirit.

Masako's life has changed, her fashion has also changed. It is like changing between Shibuya and Ginza style."

Yoichi Nagasawa. 36, worked for seven years in Paris as assistant to the late Tokio Kumagai before setting up his own label in 1991 and winning an award as most promising young designer the following year. He says that he has noticed a "new spirit of freedom" since returning to Tokyo from Paris.

"I felt a lot of difference. People know a lot about all kinds of fashion and understand about living how they want," he says, "In the 1980s. people had a complex about Europe. Now Japanese people don't feel so far away - they can go to Europe like going to Kyoto or Osaka."

Working from a studio in downtown Tokyo. Nagasawa chooses workmanlike fabrics: stretch elastic bandaging for his first collection; cloud-gray carpet felt for his fall line, or a thick cotton used for making flags. A fishnet fabric, a take on fashion's current fad for transparency, draws on the Japanese fishing tradition. Na-gasawa's clothes, which are on sale at Barneys' newly opened Tokyo store, are in the plain, quiet spirit internationally identified as Japa-nese fashion.

Miyake in 1977. I aree years ago he backet her to launch her own collection.

Tsumori says that she makes clothes she likes to wear berself, with an emphasis on knitting. Tokyo's rock, pop and film stars, is in vivid

patterns and colors - cartoon characters on silk shirts or bright sweaters with elaborate textures. The inspiration is a childhood spent in his parent's kimono store, but the effect is as contemporary as rock music.

"I am 43, and I see a very big difference in ideas and thinking between the under- and over-40s," says Konishi. "The over-40s wear this fashion on weekends. But young people's ideas have changed, and they are trying to wear these kinds of clothes for work. The whole idea of a uniform for work is changing for a younger generation they are trying to create their own fashion.

So Konishi creates complex, furrowed versions of Aran sweaters in natural colors, flamboyant men's suits or patchwork effects using different textures. He explains that "in Japan when you do patchwork you start by making each fabric" and says that he spends more than 60 percent of his time on spinning and the dying of the brilliant colors.

The designs are not for daily wear -- people permit themselves one item." he concedes.
"Whether they are good or bad, I don't want to just do normal clothes."

OBUYUKI Ota is chairman of the Council of Fashion Designers in Tokyo. He says that the current market situation is difficult for young designers. In the expansive 1980s, it was easy to get sponsorship from the big department stores. Now designers are on their own and they have to be commercial.

On traces the birth of indigenous Japanese

fashion to the Tokyo Olympics of 1964, when the American Ivy League look came to Japan along with "Coca-Cola, jeans, American breakfasts and sweaters." The preppy look inspired Miyake and Kenzo to create a Japanese fashion identity. Now they are being followed by another fashion wave.

other fashion wave.

The new generation is bungry but not greedy, says Ota. They are very quiet and trying to find their own way; they don't want to follow the hig names."

The gulf between old and new ideas is encapsulated in the traditional Japanese wedding of which the royal event is the ultimate version. While one generation parades in Shibuya on weekends, the imperial Hotel is filled with wedding guests: men in formal suits and women in dainty dresses or kimonos, clutching going-away gifts, as they watch the bride in her puffed Cinderella gown.

Even before she dons first her kimono and then the bridal gown, the future empress's new status has already been redefined by her clothes, "I never imagined her wearing ribbons in her

hair — she preferred American-style simple suits with tight skirts," says Yoshiko Kimura, who was a classmate of Owada's and now works in Japan for the British designer Paul Smith. "At school she liked sports like softball. and though it was a girls' school, she liked boyish things, I hope she changes the very strict atmosphere at court. She is international, and they are too traditional."

But inevitably, Owada's short, sharp suits and preppy clothes have been traded for ladylike fashions. Japan's youth may be voting with its feet for change, but you can be sure that its future empress will not be wearing the clumpy boots of Japan's new woman.

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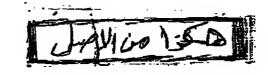
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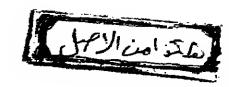
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Attali Still 'Proud' but Sees EBRD Shifts By Erik Ipsen

International Installation and LONDON - Jacque Attal,, the embattled chief of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, said Monday that he would propose significant management changes at the hank "in the next few days"

A haggard-looking Mr. Attail conceded that he was more very popular in some direles in Western Europe." But he attempted to douse speculation that an American might replace him by noting that the bank's rates require that

its president be a European. He cital his repeated emphasis on the need to open Western markets to exports from the East rather than recent control areas on lavish bank spending and his own management style as the source of ite with his performance

"My role doesn't revolve around being popular but in saying the truth," insisted Mr. Attali in answer to questions following a speech to the U.S Chamber of Commerce in London.

He said there would be "no news on manage-ment changes this week," but he added that he would "propose something to my board in the next few days."

Mr. Attali declined to comment on rumors that Eroest Stem, the No. 2 man at the World Bank and an American, would soon step in as using that word four separate times. He noted chief executive of the bank, and would possibly that so far this year the bank has approved \$889 even succeed Mr. Attali himself, Mr. Attaii did note, however, that the articles of agreement under which the bank was created explicitly teserve the position of its president for a citizen of the European Community.

Mr. Attali defended his record at the bank, but warned that the West must do more to aid the economies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe or risk "the destruction of Rusweapoos." The West, he said, was "running short of time" and must open its markets to exports from the former East Bloc.

In his speech, Mr. Attali repeatedly departed from his prepared text to say how "proud" he was of the bank's accomplishments to date. million in new loans and equity investments, three times the level for the same period last year. "In a world where recession is everywhere, this bank has a growth factor of 300 percent and who can say better than that," he said.

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Herald Eribune

MASTERING Today's Managerial Complexities



Paris, July 1, 1993

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Dr Jaques has devoted his professional career to developing his Stratified Systems Theory

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Di Jaques s concepts have influenced management practice at General

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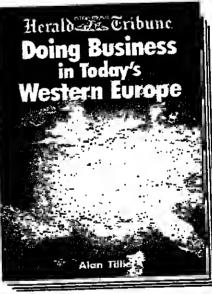
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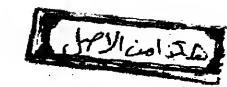
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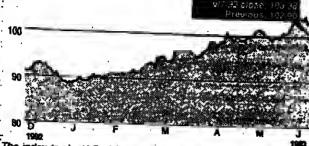
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Page 11

International Herald Tribune, Tuesday, June 8, 1993

International Herald Tribune World Stock Index e, composed of 230 internationally investable stocks from 20 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in: Tokyo, New York, London, and Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapora, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. In the case of Tokyo, New York and London, the index is composed to the Control of the Cont

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Pirelli's New Approach Mirrors Changes in Italy

By Brandon Mitchener international Heratil Terbune

tire and cable maker Pirelli SpA early last year, one of his top priorities was moving the company's headquarters from a plush office building downtown to its traditional factory grounds north of Milan.

"The dec

broader sense, it was also a clean break renewed anention to product quality and revolution." Said Marina Vertova, an economist at DRI McGraw-Hill in Milan. "We ment philosophy at big Italian companies Pirelli is indeed sizable: As Italy's 15th have an entire leadership, political and busi-

MILAN — When Marco Tronchetti
Provera took charge of the troubled Italian

We had to change the culture of the company somewhat, said Mr. Tronchetti
the successor as chief executive to Leopoldo Pitelli, who led the company for 30 years and is the grandson of the company's founder. Mr. Tronchetti, 46, is Mr. Pirelli's

Pirelli's move, part of a new sobriety was a result of the mentality of the 1980s" as the result of widespread scandal.

The decision to go after Continental going on among Italy's pointical leadership as the result of widespread scandal.

The decision to go after Continental going on among Italy's pointical leadership as the result of widespread scandal.

The decision to go after Continental going on among Italy's pointical leadership as the result of widespread scandal.

The decision to go after Continental going on among Italy's pointical leadership as the result of widespread scandal. German tiremaker Continental AG, repre- an interview. In the 1990s, he said, the bearing the brazil of restructuring. In Italy, sented a return to its industrial roots. In a credo is "profit not size," as well as a 11 is the critic society that is entering a

husinesses. But it is also linked closely to a ship at the country's biggest companies is purge among the company's managers — that the newcomers presumably never beliance in 1992 — that mirrors the weeding torted competition and left many companies.

Tart of the afforce of new, younger leader-sized companies, often controlled by the state, and thousands of tiny, family-run enterprises.

The company's restructuring includes normally obstruct change is disappearing tance to change because of the people in change includes increasing great opportunities."

Part of the aliure of new, younger leadernies strong in Italy but uncompenitive elsewhere. Mr. Tronchetti, asked about the kickback mill. said flatly, "I am not in-

Vittorio d'Amato, deputy director of the Glaxo Management School in Verona, said that generational factors were a big part of the problem in a country where the bosses

that tolerated the massive accumulation of largest commands. It is one of just a handful ness leadership, that is being wiped out." At at many small companies are the companies the same time. The bineaucracy that would nies' founders. "Generally there's a resis-

Italy has just a few big and medium-

Increasingly, however, "there's a change of generations taking place in almost all Italian companies, and the successors often aren't related to the founding family," Mr.

A case in point is the agro-industrial giant Ferruzzi, Italy's second-biggest pri-See PIRELLI, Page 13

Banks Are Urged to Adopt Standardized Reporting Rules

By Carl Gewirtz International Renald Telegra-

STOCKHOLM — National accounting authorities were urged Monday to follow the example of banking regulators in establishing international standards that would harmonize the way commercial banks report on

For years, regulators have been trying to come to grips with the explosive growth in the new and often esoreric off-balance-sheet activities of banks, particularly the derivatives business covering swaps, options

Complaining about the "growing opaqueness of financial activity" and the resulting lack of transper-ency in the public reports of banks, Alexandre Lamfasy, head of the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, said harmonization of accounting procedures was "badly" needed.

Mr. Lamfainssy was in Stockholm to address the International Monetary Conference, a three-day meeting of the chairmen of the world's 100 largest

"The phenomenal growth of derivatives and associated trading techniques has reduced the transparency" of balance sheets, he said.

Mr. Lamfalussy said that the uniform definition of bank capital and the establishment of a risk-weighted measure of capital adequacy that came into interna-

tive effort" was needed to complete the process by

harmonizing accounting procedures.

The capital-adequacy standards themselves have been widely criticized as contributing to the slowdown in world economic growth by discouraging banks from making new loans. But Allim R. Taylor, chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada, disputed this view, saying the new rules "are making the world a safer place for banking." He added that they had "given soundness to the international financial system" and were "reducing competitive inequities."

To loosen the standards as a means of easing the soalled credit crunch, he said, "would be as dangerous as abandoning the brakes while driving down a steep hill.

Talking about the recent turnoil in European cur-rency markets and Sweden's devaluation of the known. which had been pegged to the European currency unit, Finance Minister Anne Wibble said she foresaw no early return to a fixed exchange rate for Sweden.

Turning to the Swedish banking market. Mrs. Wib-ble said that the worst was probably over, that credit losses had probably peaked although they were expected to remain "quite considerable" this year. Loan losses in 1990-92 for all bank groups combined are estimated to have totaled 120 billion kronor (\$16.7) million), and the government has taken steps to secure the capital base of the banking system.

Mrs. Wibble said she would "welcome solutions measure of capital adequacy that came into interna-tional effect this year represents an important start in standardizing reporting. But be said a "major coopera-don't hesitate to do so."

EC Confronts Its Inability to Spur Growth

By Tom Buerkle Insernational Herila Tribune

LUXEMBOURG - European Community finance ministers acknowledged Monday that there had been a sharp deterioration in Europe's economic outlook but admitted virtual impotence in trying to get out of the slump.

The EC Commission has downgraded its forecast for EC economic output this year to a decline of between 0.25 and 0.5 percent, compared with previous expectations for growth of 0.8 percent, Economics Commissioner Henning Christopher sen told the ministers, according to sources.

The commission believes that a return to growth in possible in 1994, be said. But it is not yet clear how much, and in any case it will not be enough to reverse the Community's rising tide of unemployment, he added.

Commission President Jacques Delors and Theo Waigel, Germany's finance minister, said the EC iobless rate was on truck to hit 12 percent next year. The rate rose to 10.4 percent in April, a full percentage point higher than a year earlier.

The bleak outlook adds urgency to the fight against unemployment, which the commission and the Danish EC presidency have declared the lop priority for EC leaders at the Copenhagen summit meeting two weeks from now. But the finance ministers offered no new initiatives to tackle the

problem and spent only about 45 minutes of their day-long meeting addressing it, officials said. Mr. Delors said European leaders would have to take action to reduce joblessness in Copenhagen, but he said any initiatives would have to be taken by the member governments, not the Community, Unfortunately, hemorrhaging public coffers have left member states too crippled to respond

with the usual pump-priming spending measures. The average government deficit among the member states will exceed a gaping 6 percent of gross domesne product this year, far above the 3 percent ceiling set by the Maastriebt Treaty on

France thwarts both the EC and U.S. on rule revisions for airline-reservation systems. Page 12.

European Union as a criterion for adopting a single currency. Mr. Christophersen said.

In the clearest statement yet that the commission sees Eastern Europe as a way out of recession and not a burden. Mr. Christophersen said increased trade with eastern neighbors could boost EC growth by 0.3 percent.

The Community runs a budding trade surplus with its eastern neighbors, but a commission proposal to modestly accelerate the opening of the EC market to East European goods has encountered opposition from France and Portugal, which fear being swamped by cheap imports of steel, textiles

The finance ministers failed to reach agreement on taxing art imports, part of the last major measure to set uniform value-added tax rules.

Thinking Ahead

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Don't Change the Rules on EMU

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By Reginald Dale utional Herold Tribune

ASHINGTON — An idea is getting around that if you can't win the game, the best tactic is to try to change the rules, not your own performance. It's a theory that's being applied by the United States (to trade with Japan) and by Britain (to Europe's exchange-rate mechanism) — both

numerical targets for inflation,

long-term interest rates, govern-ment deficits and public debt. Only if they meet those targets will countries be considered ready to move on to full economic and monetary union and a single currency later this

decade.

The problem is that, with recession and German unification ravaging the best-laid plans of EC governments, hardly any of them are close to meeting the targets. And on debt and deficits they are mostly heading in the wrong direction.

If they are to make a good-faith effort to meet the goals, most governments will have to impose stringent disciplinary measures that are not only economically inappropriate in a recession but also

economically inappropriate in a recession but also hugely unpopular politically. On the contrary, with unemployment soaring in Western Europe, they should be pursuing expansionary policies.

In recent months EC luminaries including the

French economics minister, the governor of the Bank of Spain and the Belgian imance minister have all alluded to the possibility that the criteria

nave an anuded to the possionity that the criticals might need to be changed.

Now, astonishingly, Heimut Schlesinger, the president of the Bundesbank, has also dipped a toe in these troubled waters, endorsing the widespread. view that the government debt criterion is less critical than the others. Hitherto, the Bundesbank

has been adamant that all the rules, which it largely

wrote itself, must be scrupulously respected.

Mr. Schlesinger clearly did not intend to open the Pandora's box of a rules review. But his remark, on top of the comments by the other officials, is beginning to cause market speculation that the criteria may be softened at the special EC. summit meeting likely to be called in the autumn

United States (to trade with Japan) and by Britain (to Europe's exchange-rate mechanism) — both countries usually considered champions of fair play.

Now there's a growing chorus of voices in continental Europe calling on European Community governments to change another set of rules — the standards of economic achievement they decreed for themselves as they try to forge an economic and monetary union.

That would be a terrible mistake.

At issue are the so-called convergence criteria laid down in the Maastricht treaty that set specific mumerical targets for inflation,

other factors to be taken into The so-called con-

counts and labor costs. And the intent was never to apply the criteria "mechanistically," as EC officials put it, but to use them as a guide. The vergence criteria should not be seen treaty specifically provides leeway on the targets for public

debt and government finance. In any case, there's another side to the recession. In any case, there's another side to the recession.

The EC countries are succeeding far better than originally expected in fulfilling the most important of the criteria — the convergence of inflation rates. A new American Express Bank study predicts that all the current ERM members except Spain and Portugal will meet the inflation target by the end of next year. Germany will regain its role as the ERM's anti-inflationary "anchor" in the next coule of years, the study says.

ple of years, the study says.

It's far too early to start arguing over a decision -whether or not conditions are ripe for economic and monetary union—that the Community is not due to start tackling until 1996 at the earliest. For now, governments should not treat the criteria as a straitfacket preventing them from adopting the necessary growth policies. When the decision comes it will be as much political as economic. If there is a problem with the criteria it's that they allow EC governments to blame the rules of the game for failures that are not the rules' fault.

Peseta and Business Cautiously Cheer González

· Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

MADRID — Spanish business leaders, fearing political instability more than anything, on Monday generally welcomed the Socialist election victory while urging measures to deal with recession and joblessness.

Following Sunday's victory by Prime Minster Felipe Gonzaiez and the Socialists, the superstance of the superstance of devaluation denting and despite repeated devaluation denting and the election campaign the election pressures, but a more gradual amid election pressures, but a more gradual policy expected from now on would carry the risk of inflation and further devaluation.

The Madrid despite repeated devaluation denting and election pressures, but a more gradual policy expected from now on would carry the risk of inflation and further devaluation.

Uncertainty about the elections, which some thought could bring the conservation of the rigid of the rigid labor market.

(AFP, AP, Reuters)

peseta firmed Monday in London, Paris and rates. The Bank of Spain pared its key inter- sharp speculative attacks on the peseta.

Saudis Wary Of Higher **OPEC Quotas**

The Associated Press

GENEVA — Worned about sag-ging crude prices. Saudi Ambia and other OPEC nations called Monday for restraint in negotiating any in-creases in the organization's oil-pro-duction ociling for the summer. Kuwair, Nigeria and possibly

others are expected to press for an increase, perhaps a belty one, in output quotas in the period from July to September.

But the producers led by Saudi Arabia appeared anxious to allow only a modest increase so that crude prices might rise.

"We should be very cautious indeed," said Alirio Parra, president of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the oil minister of Venezuela.

Saudi Arabia's influential minister, Hisham Nazer, said he favored an oil-supply ceiling "as close as possible to the current one" of 23.6 million barrels a day. Saudi Arabia

is the world's No. I producer. The cartel has so far avoided a price collapse in the second quarter of this year when demand for OPEC oil is normally weak. The OPEC conference formally

opens Tuesday.

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June 7 Eurocurrency Deposits Dotter D-Mark Franc Sterlins ECU | month | 24-314 | 7 mar | 50-514 | 5 mar | 7 mar | 1 months | 24-326 | 71-726 | 5 mar | 5 mar | 7 mar | 7 mar | 1 months | 3 mar | 7 mar | 4 mar | 5 mar | 7 312-314 77.6. Sources: Reuters, Lloyds Bank,

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Dividends

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Earnings Worries Pull Stocks Down

Monday on concern that companies like Cooper Tire & Rubber Co. and

lower-than-expected earnings. The Dow Jones industrial aver-

N.Y. Stocks

led by shares of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and International Business Machines Corp. Declining common stocks led advancing issues by about 5 to 3. with auto-part manufacturers among the biggest losers. Trading on the New York Stock Exchange

million shares changing hands.

"Cooper Tire is the latest earnings debacle to shake the market.", said Peter Da Puzzo, senior managing director at Cantor Fitzgerald & Co. Cooper Tire said second-quar-ter net income would be below prior-year levels, prompting its stock to fall 7½ to 25%.

18M declined 1½ to 52½ after an

was moderate, with about 235.6

to fall 71/2 to 25%. Apple Computer's stock slumped 41% to 50% after the company told analysts at Bear Stearns & Co. and Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. that 1993 and 1994 earnings estimates were too high, traders said.

Concern about earnings is ininvestors are beginning to think year ago

Bloomberg Business News short-term interest rates will rise, NEW YORK — U.S. stocks fell Mr. Da Puzzo said. The yield on the three-month Treasury bill has climbed to 3.16 percent from a low Apple Computer Corp. will report

of 2.69 percent since October. As interest rates climb stocks become less attractive on a relative age declined 13.01 to close at basis to fixed-income securities 3,332.13. The average's decline was such as government bonds.

Not everyone agrees. "It's too early to be too concerned about interest rates," said Gail Dudack, market analyst at S.G. Warburg & Co. The rate of inflation remains low despite reports released last month showing consumer and pro ducer prices on the rise, she said.

Interest rates will likely decline over the next two weeks once the Labor Department releases the latest inflation statistics, Ms. Dudack said. The government is scheduled to release the producer price index for May on Friday.

Bank stocks were off. Bank-America Corp., which was lowered to a "sell" investment rating at Prudential Securities, fell 1 to 42. Citi-

analyst at Janney Montgomery Scott removed his short-term

"buy" rating on the stock. New York Times Co.'s class A shares lost in to 28. The company said second-quarter net income would total 23 cents to 27 cents a creasing just at the same time as share, compared with 27 cents a

Dollar Euphoria Ebbs After Jobs-Linked Rally

NEW YORK - The dollar drifted lower against major currencies Monday as traders sold it to cash in on gains made Friday, when an unexpected jump in U.S. employment sent the dollar soaring.
"It's difficult to generate enthu-

siasm unless you get a string of good figures about the economy." Foreign Exchange

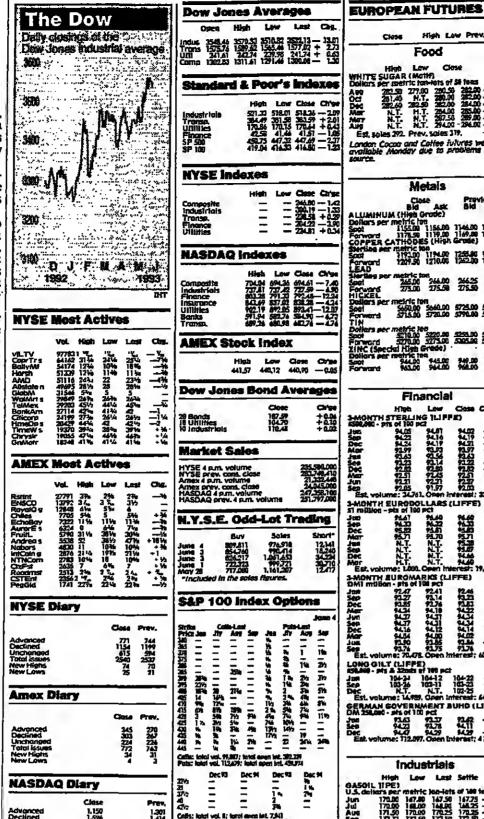
said Graham Beale, chief dealer at Midland Bank New York. Other economic indicators have not been

The dollar fell more than half a ofennig to 1.6195 Deutsche marks after jumping 3 plennig Friday, It slipped against the yea, too, falling 107.105 yen from 107.725 Friday. The dollar fell to 5.4573 French francs from 5.4785 and to 1.4545 Swiss francs from 1.4644. The pound rose to \$1.5225 from

-Traders bid the dollar higher Friday on the belief that a rosy employment picture would give the Federal Reserve leeway to raise raies with-cut throwing a wrench into the U.S. economic recovery. Higher interest rafes make dollar-denominated deposits more attractive.

Lingering concern about the German economy kept the dollar from declining further Monday against the mark, which hit a postwar low against the yen, traders said. The mark traded as low as 65.866 yen in Europe before recovering to finish

at 66.165 yen in New York. "People expect to see a weaker mark," said Jerry Egan, director of foreign exchange at MTC Bank. With the German economy in recession, the Bundesbank will have to lower interest rates to spur growth sooner rather than later, he said,



London Cocaa and Callee fully'es were not available Manday due to problems at the 93.74 94.85 94.75

France's transport minister, Bernard Bosson, argued that the measure would give a competitive ad-vantage to American, owner of the Sahre reservation

The two leading European reservations systems, Ga-

U.S./AT THE CLOSE

Treasury Seeks to Assess Deficit Drag

WASHINGTON (Knight-Ridder) — Failure to reduce the budget deficit could force the Federal Reserve to raise short-term interest rates and would trim economic growth by \$50 billion by 1998, the Treasury

In an economic analysis, the Treasury said both long term and short-term interest rates could rise by one percentage point if the deficit was not term interest rates could rise by one percentage point if the deficit was not term interest rates could rise by one percentage point if the deficit was not termined, slowing growth, causing a large drop in stock prices and costing 170,000 jobs in the economy by 1998.

The study, conducted by the assistant Treasury secretary for economic analysis, Alicia Munnell, was released as the Senate prepared to take up the administration's \$500 billion deficit-reduction plan.

Advanced Micro's Stock Price Skids

SUNNYVALE, California (Bloomberg) — Shares of Advanced Micro Devices Inc. plummeted Monday in active trading after a court shipped it of rights that an arbitrator had given it to close Intel Corp.'s popular

386 computer chips.

Advanced Micro's shares, which have gone up and down with court
Advanced Micro's shares, which have gone up and down with court
ulines over the past few years, closed \$4.375 lower Monday, at \$23.625,
ni heavy New York Stock Exchange trading. Intel jumped \$2 to \$38.375,
in heavy New York Stock Exchange trading. Intel jumped \$2 to \$38.375,
AMD said after the market closed Friday that a three-judge peace of
the California Sixth District Court of Appeal had reversed an arbitrator's
the California Sixth District Court of Appeal had reversed an arbitrator's order last year giving it permanent, royalty-free rights to the last chip intel says it plans to sue for 51 billion in damages. AMD said it would continue to manufacture and ship its 386 chips, citing another agreement with Intel and other court rulings.

Merrill Names Tully as Chairman

BERLIN (Bloomberg) — Merrill Lynch & Co. on Monday named Daniel Tully, its chief executive officer, to the additional post of chairman. He succeeds William Schreyer, who will retire June 28 and become chairman emeritus. Mr. Tully, 61, became president and chief operating officer in July 1985 and was named chief executive in May 1992.

Merrill Lynch also announced it had passed the 5500 billion mark up total chient assets worldwide, putting it in first place among securities firms. The company's board was meeting in Berlin in conjunction with a series of meetings and receptions for chems.

Kodak to Sell Printer Line to Scitex

NEW YORK (Knight-Ridder) — Eastman Kodak Co. said Monday it had agreed to sell its Dayton Operations printer business to Scient Corp. for as much as \$70 million. The photographic products and chemicals concern said at would receive \$35 million for the operations at the close of the transaction and as much as \$35 million in later years, based on performance criteria.

U.S. Consumer Credit Rose in April

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Borrowing by U.S. consumers rose for the ninth consecutive month in April, the Federal Reserve said Monday.

Borrowing climbed 3.6 percent in April after 4.7 percent in March.

Automobile borrowing increased 1.9 percent after 2.3 percent in March.

Credit-card use rose 7.5 percent for a second straight month.

Weekend Box Office		14-14
100	The Associated Press	
LOS ANGELES - CI	iffhanger" continued to	o head the U.S. box
office over the weekend. For	flowing are the Top 10	moneymakers, based
on Friday ticket sales and e	stimated sales for Satu	reary and Souther.
1. "Cliffbonger"	(TriStor)	STATE OF THE PARTY
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3. "Guilly on Sin" ·	(Hobywood Pickree)	25.7 http://doi.
4. "Dave"	. (Worner Brothers)	SLE militio
5. "Hot Shots! Part Deux!"	- (200) Gantery Mox?	34.4 manager
6. "Super Mario Bros." .	(Hollywood Pictures)	S4 collings
7. "Slives"	(Paramount)	\$2.6 melindage
& "Life with Mikey"	(Touchstone Platures)	13.5 million
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France Thwarts EC, U.S. on Airlines

LUNEMBOURG - France shot down Monday an EC attempt to revise rules on airline reservation systems — saving it was a giveaway to American Airlines
— in spite of warnings that the move could trigger a new trade dispute with the United States.

The clash at a meeting of transport ministers here underlined a broad philosophical split within the Community over the desirability of more liberal airline policies. The EC Commission had proposed to lileo and Amadeus, are owned by several airlines and revise the code of conduct governing computerized owners are prevented from calling up competition data.

flight-reservation systems to require carriers to offer their flight information to all systems in the market.

system. He said it would not prevent American from calling up flight information of its competitors. Air France refuses to register its flight data with Sabre.

Grains

Industrials

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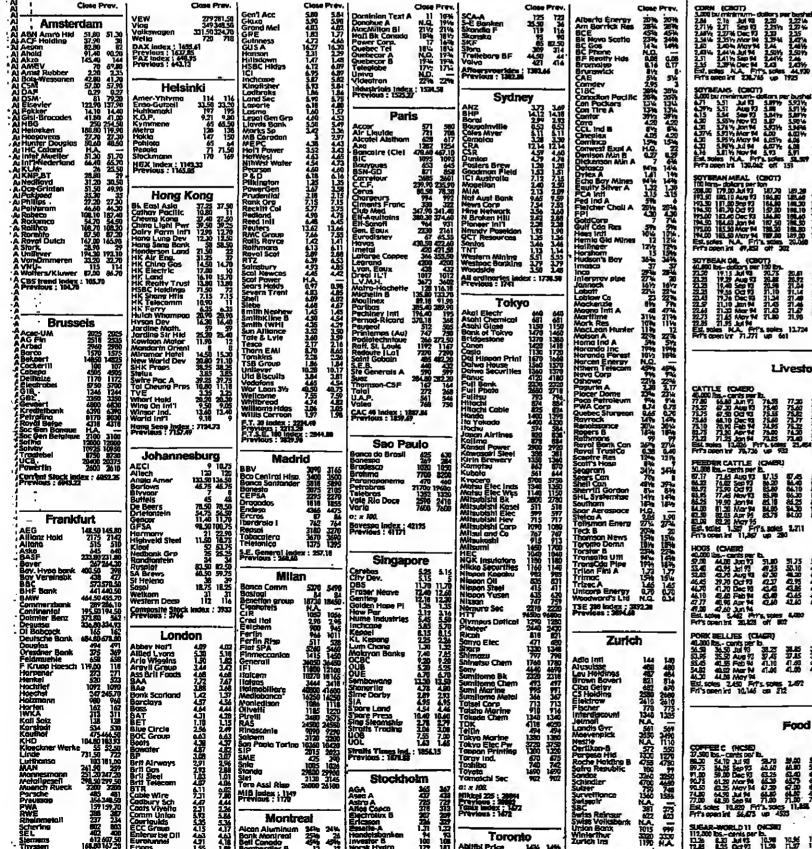
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Denmark Cuts Key ¹² Rates Again

COPENHAGEN - Denmark's central bank announced a haifpoint cut Monday in its long-term interest rates, the second substantial reduction since Danes voted to approve the European Community's Maastricht treaty on May 18.

The move, effective Tuesday, lowers both the deposit rate and the discount rate to 7.75 percent from 8.25 percent. The bank had last cut the rates, by a full point, a day after the treaty was approved.

A central bank spokeswoman at-tributed Monday's move to satisfactory developments on currency markets and generally lower market rates.

The krone, protected by high interest rates since June last year, when Danes initially voted against Maastricht, showed little reaction to Monday's cut. It weakened slightly to 3.8273 to the Deutsche mark, from around 3.8255 before

The cut was slightly bigger than financial markets had expected and many dealers had not anticipated a reduction until Wednesday.

Less Than Balladur Asked French Industry Limits Pledge on Jobs

PARIS - Under government pressure to help combat record unemployment. French business leaders pledged Monday to launch a naoonal drive to train young workers, but they stopped short of a commitment requested by Prime Minister Edouard Balladur.

Mr. Balladur bluntly told 29 leaders of the employers' federation to haul France's economy out of recession by halting layoffs and committing

to a goal of 200,000 extra apprenticeships.

Aides quoted Mr. Balladur as saying that his conservative government had done a lot to reduce the tax burden on industry and create "a favorable environment for growth." The ball now was in the employers' court, he said,

The federation's president, François Perigot, said his organization would launch a national drive next week to make the most of the government's job-creation measures and provide work experience for young people.

However, he said he had no right to ask compa-

nies to freeze layoffs if their economic survival was at stake. He noted that the government, too, was closing army bases as an economy measure. "Don't ask me to make promises about jobs for

young people," he told reporters. "I believe this kind of promise has no foundation in today's confused economic situation. But I can tell you we will do the maximum."

Government and independent forecasts indicate that the French economy is likely to contract by up to I percent in 1993

Before the talks, officials said Mr. Balladur was impatient with the employers' reluctance to reciprocate for his tax concessions and irritated by a space of layoffs that has taken the jobless rate to a record 10.9 percent. However, he showed no particular dissatisfaction after the meeting.

Mr. Perigot said before the talks that the government's revised budget lacked sufficiently powerful measures to save companies. Some industrialists have opposed the strong franc policy pursued by both Mr. Bailadur and his Socialist predecessor. and have urged the government to devalue the currency, cut interest rates and go for growth.

Aides said Mr. Bailadur had ruled out devaluation or a revival of inflation. Employers worry that the benefits from Mr. Balladur's measures to stimulate construction and public works and cut payroll taxes might be partially nullified by a rise in

taxes on income to plug a deficit in social security. The meeting took place amid coeuroversy over attempts by some employers to impose wage cuts as an alternative to layoffs. Morin Emballage, a Sarre-bourg packaging concern owned by the Swiss com-pany Alusuisse, gave its 450 workers until Monday to accept without negotiation a 5 percent cut, cancellation of a 1.2 percent increase and the withholding of a 13th month payment to avoid layoffs.

Bankers Close In On Ferruzzi Group

MILAN — A group of Palitin creditor banks is likely to take a onethird stake in Scrafino Ferrage Sr. the Ferruzzi (amily's key holding company in a derit-for-equity swap. banking sources said Menday.

The sources said the Farmeri family accepted that its only hope to keep a leading rule in the neavily indebted Ferruzzi group was the entry of outside shareholders into Serafino Ferruzzi, which has a 35.3 percent stake in Fernizzi Finan-

On Friday, Seralino Ferruzz: and Ferruzzi Finanziaria said they had asked the consortium of statecontrolled banks, led by Mediobanca SnA, to oversee an industrial restructuring of the Ferrusa, group and a debt-reduction program.

Two weeks ago, the Ferrazzi family said it intended to open the holding company to outside thesetors for the first time. The sources said the most likely

outcome was that the creditor banks — which also include Banca Commerciale Italiana, Banco di Roma, Credito Italiano and Isti-

- would take a one-third share in Serafino Ferruzzi.

The Ferruzzi family would lower its stake in the holding company to 30 percent from 100 percent and the remaining third would go to enstitutional investors, according to the sources.

The final, detailed restructuring pien will be ready within 20 days, a Mediobanca source said.

In the meanume, the source said, the government will, as recently requested by the Bank of Italy, free hapks to take major stakes in industrial companies.

Analysis said Antonio Maccansco, a former Mediobanca presicent and now a cabinet official, appears to have convinced the government of the need to redraft current regulations within a matter of

According to the latest company accounts, the Ferruzzi Group has almost 20 trillion lire (\$13.7 billion)

Ferruzzi Finanziaria last month announced a 1992 net loss of more than 1.5 trillion line.

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Very briefly:

 Klöckner-Werke AG's creditors agreed to a restructuring plan including the sale of its steel division to a group led by Jurgen Grossman, a former chief executive of the division, for a nominal 2.50 Deutsche marks (\$1.50). Votes were scheduled on whether to forgive its 2.7 billion DM of debt... BAA PLC, which operates Britain's internacional airports, said profit

rose 49 percent to £285 million (\$434.8 million) in the year ended March 31, reflecting retail activities. Passenger traffic grew only 7.9 percent, • Italy's trade balance with other EC countries swung to a surplus of 19:

billion lire t\$201.2 millions in March, from a deficit of 1.675 trillion it / in March 1992, the statistical institute Istat said.

 Axel Springer Verlag AG said group net profit soared to 57 million Deutsche marks, from 11 million DM a year earlier, though sales fell 5.3 percent to 3.57 hillion DM. Britain's longer-term leading cyclical indicator fell 0.4 percent in April.

the Central Statistical Office said. The index is said to indicate economic trends about 11 months in advance. • East German company insolvencies fell 6.2 percent to 9.807 in April.

from 10.456 a year earlier, the Federal Statistics Office said. The figure was down 8.0 percent from 10.658 in the previous month, • Coffee-trading nations announced an agreement to extend the current International Coffee Agreement beyond Oct. 1. The International Coffee

Organization said 48 countries had voted in favor of extending the

agreement, one had voted against, and one had abstained. · A Philips Electronics NV executive, Gijs Wirtz, said sales of digital compact cassette players would reach about 300,000 to 400,000 in their first year of production, down from a forecast of 750,000 to 1 million made at the faunching of the product in September 1992.

Reuters, Bloomberg, AFX, AF

tuto Bancario San Pacio di Torino GE: Company's Achievement of Prosperity Through Job Cuts May Be a Blueprint to Be Followed by Others

Continued from Page 1

the 1990s for America and is heading Europe's way, Economists disagree about the causes, but the chain of events seems to be progressing like this:

 Under the weight of debt from the 1980s and the threat of global competition, business increased its efficiency. This meant fewer workers were oeeded to produce more goods. Companies became more

• Those laid off were forced to take lower wages, and settled into the bottom half of a two-oer society. They not only carried the social costs of the restructuring but found themselves in competitioo with cheap labor in the Third World.

• With decreasing job security, the workers who used to serve as consumers for the products of industry were hesitant to buy them. The economy now depends more on investment for growth. In the long

At Pirelli, a strong family connection

remains — family members and their allies

control 54 percent of the group holding company — but almost everything else is in

The company is almost finished selling off its diversified products division, which

• It sold its stake in Continental to Ger-

man investors for 330 billion lire (\$223

million), reaping a capital gain of 140 bil-

ufacturing plants to 90 from 102 without a fall in production. Total sales rose slightly

In 1992, Pirelli cut the number of man-

used to account for 15 percent of sales.

Here are some examples:

one, if the strains on the society can be contained in the meantime.

As this process moves forward, the United States has started to regain its edge in productivity. Overall productivity rose 2.8 percent last year, the best gain in 20 years. Moreover, productivity increases are not limited to manufacturing. A McKinsey & Co. study of productivity in the service sector shows improvements in airlines, banking, telecommunications and retail-

"These things will happen in Europe if they really allow competition there," Marwhatever jobs they could get, usually at tin Baily of the Brookings Institution, one of the report's authors, said.

Way back when the great American corporations ruled the world's business, it was said that what was good for them was good for the country.

"At that time it made sense," says Audrey Freedman, a leading labor economist. "The buge corporations had a lot of market power and earned oligopoly profits, which

The company payroll was cut last year by 6,000 or 12.2 percent to 43,000 workers.

has built a completely automated tire fac-

tory that it calls the most modern in Eu-

· And La Bicocca, the factory at that

was the original site of Pirelli's production

activities, no longer turns out fires and is

being transformed into Technocity, an ur-

ban technology park that the company described as the first big renewal project in

a Milan "in a hurry to rebuild, physically

Mr. Tronchetti personally recruited Sharon Stone, the star of "Basic Instinet,"

In Bollate, near Milan, the company

the nation exacted a social role from them, but that doesn't fit with their situation any

But what is good for General Electric is in the short run. A study of the 1980s by Margaret Blair of Brookings, called "The Deal Decade," reports that the principal result for companies that sank into debt to raise stockholder value was a decline in investment and in research and develop-

Brand-name conglomerates such as Be-atrice Foods and RJR Nabisco are coming apart, with RJR hiving off its profitable food divisions to avoid being dragged down by the cigarette bust. Companies such as General Motors and

IBM, which woke up late to market new ways of marketing and manufacturing with depleted financial resources while they pay off excess labor.

vate sector industrial company after Fiat.

The Ferruzzi family on Friday nurned management of their debt-ridden group over to creditor banks.

The Sector industrial company after Fiat.

The Ferruzzi family on Friday nurned management of their debt-ridden group over to creditor banks.

The Agent ago, after the famine of 115 bid to the industry that the company's traditional focus on the original equipment market.

The Ferruzzi family on Friday nurned management of their debt-ridden group over to debt fell to 2.63 trillion line from 3.2 trillion.

The Ferruzzi family on Friday nurned management tire buyers, a departure from the industry that tire company's traditional focus on the original equipment market.

Asked why the changes are all coming to the industry that tire company's traditional focus on the original equipment market.

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Asked why the change are all coming to the company is traditional

now, though many of the problems were evident earlier, Mr. Tronchetti said simply,

in the old days, and, as in every old compa-

change," he added.

I wasn't there." Margins were also higher

there are many habits that are difficult

While many other Italian companies are

shuffling management structures and turn-

ing to automation and just-in-time produc-

tion techniques, analysts said Pirelli's re-

structuring was by far the country's most

"Pirelli is the most ambitious because

they were in the worst simaoon," said

Umberto Bertelè, deputy dean and busi-ness professor at the Milan Polytechnie

In theory, high productivity means that

to 8.252 billion lire and the group oet loss for a new commercial campaign targeting "A year ago, after the failure of its bid to appears to represent the exception to re-

seems to be broken, and the rises in labor of its obligations and in part because it had income that characterized the postwar era have turned into increases in profits.

The most significant change, according not necessarily good for America, at least to Ms. Freedman, a former Labor Department economist who heads her own consulting firm, is the rise of what she calls "contingent employment" - contract labor in virtually every field from maintenance to management.

Even she says she was surprised to disment gains by Manpower lac,, which provides temporary employees, had been in manufacturing, not in service industries. This means the company now is sending several hundred thousand workers to staff assembly lines for Fortune 500 companies changes, now have to struggle to develop and other benefits that the companies used to provide.

The process of cutong GE's work force

Now, he said, "I think Pirelli has taken

the right road, even if, as in many sectors, it

is not clear whether competition in the

future will be really global or whether it will be possible to survive by being strong

in some specific geographical area or spe-

Pirelli has a global market share in tires

of around 6 percent, making it the world's

fifth-largest producer. In cables, it is the

world's second-largest player after Alcatel

Morgan Stanley, in a recent study, also

a friencia Republican administration that kent hands off American business in the The architect of all this, Mr. Welch, says

he still agonizes over what he had to do but oilers no regrets. "Our people have learned the value of their jobs, and the principle that job securi-

comes from winning," he says.

The point of trimming the workforce, said Mr. Doyle, was not just for the money. although that was important. The primary benefit, he said, was "the direct contact, the collegial feeling we got."

For those who survived the cuts, that is, Little is heard of those who were "downsized" or "outplaced" by the more efficient -but without the job security and medical system. Here as elsewhere, history is written by the winners.

NEXT: As American and European teleby one-quarter has left scars of mistrust phone and cable companies race to restruc-that only now are beginning to heal. GE ture for an era of multimedia communicawere underwritten by our nation's dominish high earnings are spread around the socinance of the world economy. In exchange ety, enriching everyone. That link now because it had the money to buy its way out generally situng on the sidelines.

The main structural change undergone at Pirelli since the Conti affair has been the

decision to drop coverage of areas where it

has a marginal presence and concentrate

instead on areas where its intermediate size

is appropriate," the Morgan Stanley report noted. "This strategy has aimed to build on

Pirelli's main strength, its brand name in

Other investment banks, including

Goldman Sachs, CS First Boston and UBS, have put Pirelli on their lists of stocks

expected to gain significantly over the next

several years. The price of Pirelli shares has

high-performance tires for fast cars."

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concluded that Pirelli had been successful risen more than 200 percent from 1,116 lire in focusing on a narrow market: "Pirelli at the end of last year to 3,480 lire Monday.

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Accord Seeks to Regulate Latin America Exchanges

By Nathaniel C. Nash New York Times Service

BUENOS AIRES - Reflecting the new popularity of Latin American stocks and a realization that these same markets are plagued by manipulation, insider trading and other abuses, regulators from 13 countries have signed an agreement to toughen and unify regulation of stock exchanges in the Americas.

The regulators — representing 11 Latin American countries, the United States and Canada - agreed to increase the reporting requirements for brokers, speed trading information to the public and monitor advisers working with foreign clients.

"We are now convinced that the countries that have the best-regulated, the most transparent, fairest markets, where there is the least possibility for manipulation and fraud, will attract the most investment from abroad," said Luis Miguei Moreno, the president of Mexico's securities commission. "What we have done does not have the force of law, but commits the regulators to a path of better regulation."

The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission said holdings of Latin American stocks by U.S. investors had risen to \$4.4 billion this year. from \$2.6 billion in 1992. Latin American markets have boomed because of the selling-off of state companies and reduced inflation. This has ignited growth and brought stability to coun-tries like Mexico, Argentina and Chile.

sale next month of stock in Argentina's state of company. Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales. An underwriting syndicate, led by First Boston and Merrill Lynch, hopes to raise up to \$2.5 billion for a 35 percent interest, making it perhaps the largest initial public offering in the world this year.

U.S. officials worry over reports that brokers in Latin America often buy stocks for their own accounts before buying for the customer, push-

INTERNATIONAL STOCKS

ing the prices up. They also express concern that some Latin American investment advises. may fill orders for local customers fast.

Under the accord, regulators have agreed to develop reporting systems on exchanges that would disseminate trading data on all transactions within 90 seconds of the trade. In the United States, most trades are reported within nine seconds, although in Europe delays often extend for hours. A time lag increases the possibility of an advantage from short-term discrepancies to the prices of stocks,

Still, the agreement does not mean overnight changes, and many changes would also require legislation. In addition to the United States Canada, Mexico and Argentina, the constrict that signed the agreement were Bright, Chile, Colombia. Costa Rica, Ecuador, Hondress.

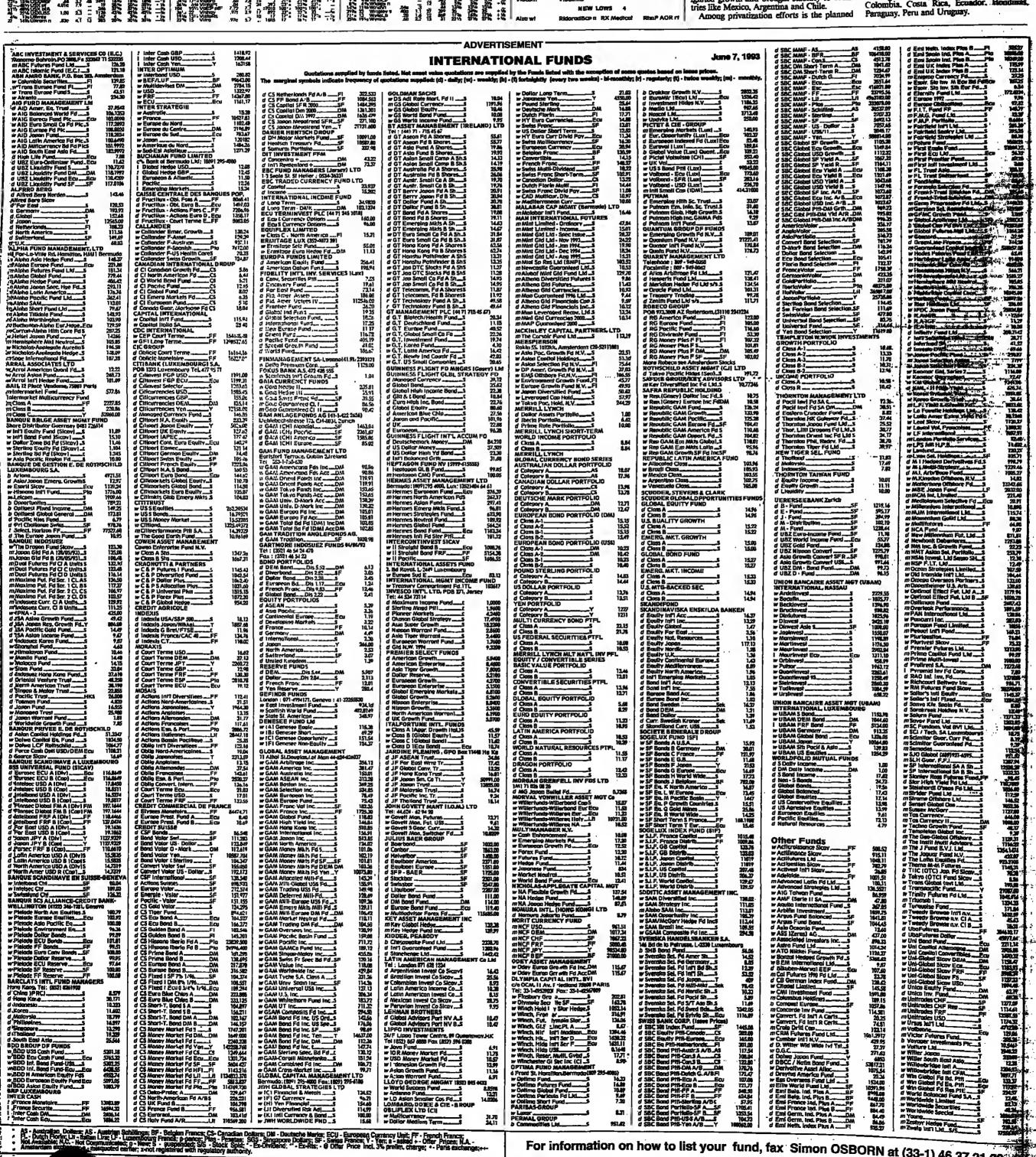
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Cable Deal Links U.S., Japan Firms

TOKYO — Tele-Communications Inc., the largest American cable-television operator, will take an 18 percent stake in a Japanese cable operator to expand its business in Japan. officials of the Japanese company said Monday.

TCI, based in Englewood, Colorado, will pay about 300 million yen (\$2.8 million) to acquire 18 percent of Cable Soft Network, owned by Sumitomo Corp. CSN supplies entertainment programs up to 20 hours per day to 160 Japanese cable-television operators.

TCI is a major shareholder of Liberty Media Corp. and Turner Broadcasting Systems

Opposition Stalls Tokyo Curbs on Futures

TOKYO - An effort by Japan's financial bureaucrats to impose strict new rules on stock-futures and options trading may be shelved, thanks to formidable opposition

from heavyweight foreign and Japanese bro-kerages, as well as the U.S. administration. Back in March, the Tokyo Stock Exchange, at the request of Japan's Finance Ministry, drafted measures that would effectively halt stock-futures trading whenever

the market became too volatile. From the beginning, executives at foreign firms, which have raked in billions of yen trading these so-called stock derivative products, have warned the proposals would spell the end of stock-futures trading in Tokyo.

However, the stock exchange's plan is also receiving considerable resistance from Japanese brokerages that are part of a 22-member working group now studying the matter. In recent years, big Japanese brokerages have developed more expertise in the trading of these stock derivative products.

"Both Japanese and foreign securities firms have opposed the proposed regulations," said Tatsuya Oguchi, manager of futures trading at James Capel Pacific Ltd., one of the firms represented in the working group.

That view is being echoed by three other executives on the Tokyo exchange's working group. These executives, who declined to be identified, said the panel was to have made a final decision on the proposals by May 31. However, so far the group has come up with only a sketchy outline of its views.

Foreign brokerages have complained that the rules are a step backward for Japan's still young derivatives market. What is more, they complain the rules would single out a market where foreign companies have been the most successful.

For ordinary investors, stock futures, which grew popular just as the Tokyo market began plunging in 1990, have been equated with a bear market. The Finance Ministry has couched the proposed regulations as a way to protect the individual investor from stock market volatility.

Using sophisticated trading techniques that exploit the price gaps that emerge be-tween the cash and futures markets for stock, foreign companies such as Morgan Stanley ing time and raising have turned nifty profits. These hig earnings, percent from 9 percent.

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"Given the strong opposition by the member securities firms, I doubt the regulations were getting crushed, may have prompted the Finance Ministry to act. However, it now appears even the ministry

may be backing down, under pressure from the brokerages and Washington.
When the Finance Ministry met with U.S.

Treasury officials in May, the United States voiced its concern about rules apparently directed at non-Japanese firms. Hiro Shinkawa, an official at the Finance Ministry, acknowledged that Japanese and

U.S. regulators were talking about the new rules, but said, "The Finance Ministry's stance has not changed as a result of any talks with the U.S. government." Still, an official at the Tokyo Stock Exchange said the Finance Ministry was willing to delay the rules governing stock derivatives until some sort of consensus could be

ved with U.S. regulators. This is not the first time Japan's financial regulators have tried to curb stock-futures trading. In 1991 and 1992, Japanese ex-changes took measures to reduce the impact of futures trading on the stock market, including doubling commissions, cutting trading time and raising deposit rates to 30

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These measures, together with higher volume's in Tokyo's resurgent stock market this year, have succeeded in reducing volatility enough so that new measures are not necessary, two committee members said.

And the Osaka Securities Exchange, the home of Japan's most active futures on the Nikkei 225 stock average, is reluctant to give up the trading fees it gets from futures trad-ing. That leaves the Tokyo exchange alone in pushing for the rules.

But the exchange has yet to fill in the specifics on rules outlined in a Finance Ministry report in December.

The plan would ban futures trading for 15 inutes if they reach a certain, as yet undefined, level. Similarly, a proposed rule would halt arbitrage trading when the price gap between stocks and futures grows too large. The plan also calls for full disclosure of futures and options transactions for both

client and company accounts. Foreign brokerages have responded with a counterproposal that would limit proprietary trading or trades on brokerage accounts, to 10,000 contracts a day or 10 percent of total daily volume, whichever is larger, according to members of the working committee.

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Japan Official Sees Recovery in 2d Half

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches TOKYO - The Bank of Japan's governor, Yasnshi Mieno, said nations in July.

Monday that Japan's slumping But the vice minister for interna-Monday that Japan's slumping economy was likely to recover in

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needed to maintain a close but calm watch on the economy. Speaking before the budget commission of the Diet, Japan's partia-ment, Mr. Mieno told lawmakers swing in corporate sentiment. that the timing of the yen's recent

surge made recovery more difficult because it came just as the Japanese economy was gathering steam.

But, he added, "over the long term, the stronger yen will likely lower costs for businesses, and prices are likely to decline." The yen has appreciated against the dollar by 16 percent over the past

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POSTION AS DIRECTOR OF AM six months, Mr. Mieno said that as central bank governor he felt constrained from commenting directly on the current level of interest rates. But he said the view in Japan's financial markets was that the economic outlook was becoming brighter and FOREIGN REP for condenue exchange program. Commission-expenses some travel. Please English. Latter/ov GCE S325 Timbera ceak Rd. Flower Mound. TX 75028; Fizz. 214-539-0265 USA.

rise and mixed Japanese economic indicators were preventing the gov-ernment from painting a bright picture in its next monthly report, which is due Thursday.

EPA policymakers said they were in a dilemma — hoping to be able to boost business sentiment, yet trying to avoid misleading the public with too rosy an outlook.

that Tokyo may declare its econo-

ahead of the Tokyo summit of the Group of Seven leading industrial

tional trade and industry, Yuji Tanahashi, asked about the EPA's monthly report, said, "I don't think it is possible to say the economy has already bottomed out, while

Even if manufacturing firms were less gloomy in May, many economists said, the change was

swing in corporate sentiment.
Speaking before the same Diet
panel as Mr. Mieno, the economic
planning minister, Hajime Funada, said, "I personally think the economy is hitting bottom now, but we still want to see how it develops in

"The reason business confidence is no longer falling off the cliff is that they can finally say they have inventories under control," said Jesper Koll, economist at S.G. Warburg Securities (Japan). "But that doesn't mean confidence is

moving into positive territory." The rise in the yen's value against the dollar cuts into exporters' yen earnings when they exchange dollars they receive from stock prices were recovering.

Meanwhile, the Economic Planning Agency said the year's recent porters would be forced to raise porters would be forced to raise prices, which could hurt their com-

petitiveness. The worst point of the two-year recession appears to have been the fourth quarter of 1992, but the economy has been dragging its feet along the bottom, an Economic Planning Agency official familiar with the mouthly report said.

Last month, the agency said the Private economists speculate economy was showing signs of remy has hit bottom in the report, to covery in its monthly report for fend off pressure from its allies to the first time during the current take more pump-priming measures downturn. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

gradient deutsche State (2007)

Wharf Cable, a subsidiary of Wharf (Holdings) Ltd., will become Hong. Kong distributor for STAR TV, the regional satellite-television service provided by Hutchison Whampoa Ltd.'s half-owned subsidiary. Hutch sion: Wharf will also acquire Hutchison's Fortress Satellite Services. Far East Hotels & Entertainment Ltd. will buy a majority stake in a redevelopment joint venture, Shanghai Far East Entertainment Square, for \$46.25 million Hong Kong dollars (\$70 million).

• Wing Hang Bank, 49 percent controlled by Bank of New York, will make an initial public offer to raise 600 million Hong Kong dollars. • Shenzhen China Bicycle Co. postponed a 400 million yuan (\$51,3 million), one-for-five rights issue until next year; analysts cited a loss of confidence on the Shenzhen stock market.

• Tata Iron & Steel Co.'s net profit, sapped by recession in the Indian and international markets, fell 40.6 percent to 1.27 billion rupees (\$40)7

million) in the business year that ended March 31. Mitsubishi Corp. had its long-term credit rating downgraded to AA-

from AA by Standard & Poor's Asia Ltd. Bank of Korea, South Korea's central bank, said North Korea's gross national product had contracted by 7.4 percent in 1992.



Mixed Year For Japan's Insurers

TOKYO — Japan's top eight life-insurance companies, which are among the world's biggest institutional investors, said Monday that premium income had risen in the year ended March 31 but in-

come from investments had fallen.

The eight are Nippon Life Insur-

ance Co., Dai-Ichi Mutual Life In-surance Co., Asahi Mutual Life Insurance Co., Meiji Mutual Life Insurance Co., Sumitomo Life Insurance Co., Yasuda Mutual Life Insurance Co., Chiyoda Mutual Life Insurance Co. and Mitsui Mutual Life Insurance Co. Premium income at the compa nies rose by anywhere from 0.9

percent to 7.6 percent on the year, thanks to increased purchases of life insurance and pension plans by Japan's rapidly growing elderly population, the companies said.

Japanese society is aging rapidly, and people are afraid public pensions are not enough to support them after they retire," a spokes-man for Chiyoda Life said.

Asahi Life said that private pen-sion insurance contracts it had signed grew 43.7 percent.

The companies faced declining income from investments last year as Japanese stocks fell and the yen

rose, because Japanese life-insurance companies are major investors in stocks in Japan and overseas. Dai-Ichi Life said it had lost 27.3 billion yea (\$254.3 million) on stock investments last year. The companies have also been troubled with nonperforming loans to Japan's real-estate sector. Prop-

erty prices collapsed at the end of the 1980s, after meteoric growth. Sumitomo Life said it had 36.71 billion yen of nonperforming loans. Losses on stocks overseas as well as low interest rates in Japan contributed to a decline in investment income, the companies said. Foreign-exchange losses incurred by Japanese life insurers, meanwhile, surged to 103.7 billion

lion yen a year earlier. At the end of March, bad loans of the eight life insurers totaled 405.5 billion yen, which officials said was higher than the level six months earlier. (Bloomberg, AFX)

yen in the latest year from 4.1 bil-

FIDELITY FAR EAST FUND Société d'Investissement à Capital Variable

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NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

FIDELITY FAR EAST FUND, a société d'investissement à capital variable organised under the laws of the Grand Ducby of Luxembourg (the "Fund"), will be beld at the registered office of the Fund, Kansallis House, Place de l'Etoile, Luxembourg, at 11:00 a.m. on June 29, 1993, specifically, but without limitation, for the following purposes: 1. Presentation of the Report of the Board of Directors. 2. Presentation of the Report of the Auditor.

3. Approval of the balance sheet and income statement for the fiscal year ended February 28,

4. Discharge of the Board of Directors and the Auditor. 5. Election of six (6) Directors, specifically the re-election of Messrs. Edward C. Johnson

3d, Barry R. J. Bateman, Charles T. M. Collis, Charles A. Fraser, Jean Hamilius and H. F. van den Hoven, being all of the present Directors. 6. Election of the Auditor, specifically the election of Coopers & Lybrand, Luxembourg.

7. Declaration of a cash dividend in respect of the fiscal year ended February 28, 1993, and authorisation of the Board of Directors to declare further dividends in respect of fiscal year 1993 if necessary to enable the Fund to qualify for "distributor" status under United Kingdom tax law. 8. Proposal, recommended by the Board of Directors, to amend Article 16 of the Fund's Articles of Incorporation to delete the specific limitotions in the nature of investment

safeguards set forth therein and to substitute more general language, in order that all of the Fund's investment safeguards may be determined by the Board of Directors in its discretion, subject to the requirements of Luxembourg law and regulation. Copies of Article 16 as proposed to be amended may be obtained from the Fund at its registered office in Luxembourg and are being mailed to all registered shareholders with this Notice of Meeting. 9. Consideration of such other business as may properly come before the meeting.

Approval of the above items 1 through 7 of the agenda will require the affirmative vote of a majority of the shares present or represented at the meeting with no minimum number

of shares present or represented in order for a quorum to be present. Approval of item 8 of the Agenda will require the affirmative vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the shares present or represented at the Meeting at which a majority of the outstanding shares must be present or represented; if a quorum is not present, then at the adjournment session of the Meeting, approval of item 8 shall require the affirmative vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the shares present or represented at the Meeting with no minimum number of shares present or represented for a quorum. Subject to the limitations imposed by the Articles of Incorporation of the Fund with regard to ownership of shares which constitute in the aggregate more than three percent (3 %) of the outstanding shares, each share is entitled to one vote. A Shareholder may act at any meeting by proxy. Dated: May 24, 1993

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS



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For Bulls, Jokes **And Tension Come** Before the Suns

By Malcolm Moran New York Times Service

DEERFIELD, Illinois - The message inside the cartoonlike hubble on the front of Scottie Pippen's hat, "!"(AT)(NU)." held a sentiment that must have been left over from the last two weeks in the lives of the Chicago Bulls.

With the exception of Michael Jordan's continued public silence. any traces of angst seemed to have been replaced by a relaxed sense of anticipation as the Bulls prepared

The list of countries and stations where the NBA champi-onship series can be seen will appear Wednesday.

for the National Basketball Association finals against the Suns, with Game I on Wednesday at Phoenix, and a chance to make history.

Twice in recent days, Jordan and Phil Jackson, the coach of the Bulls, have discussed reports of Jordan's gambling. On Sunday, the coach teased his player about the task that remains

With the New York Knicks' relentless defense no longer an obstacle, and the opportunity to become only the third NBA team to win as many as three consecutive titles before them, the Bulls could finally enjoy a chance to smile.

There's a rumor going around Chicago that we won the most important series." Jackson said, repeating part of a conversation with Jordan, "I kind of kidded about that with him today, that the feeling is we beat New York, that's good enough. That's made a successful season for us."

The coach had made his point. On Friday night, during the victory over the Knicks that sent the Bulls to the finals, Jackson had tried. with little success, to ease Jordan's exhaustion, Sunday, Jackson said, he found Jordan to be attentive, energetic and upbeat. The coach seemed to look forward to the new challenge of the faster-paced, lessconfrontational Suns.

"We're going to see people met in the lane." Jackson said. "We're be," said Barkley, who is finally going to see bodies coming together in collisions. But we're not going to see the same kind of physical play."

"And I think it's going to be a little more of a liberating thing." he said, "because these guys have been running around with a body strapped to them for the last two weeks. Now it's going to feel like they're dancing, they're free."

Phoenix will have to deal with a Chicago team that has held its playoff opponents beneath 100 points in 11 of 13 games, has not allowed i IV. points, and has reduced its league-low regular-season average of 13.5 turnovers to 12.3 in

the playoffs.

Jackson began the mind games for a new series, challenging reporters who had voted Charles Barkley most valuable player over Jordan to identify themselves. He saw one

Everybody knows in this league who the most valuable player is, and has been ever since he has been about two years into this league." Jackson said, "So I know there's going to be some drama behind that."

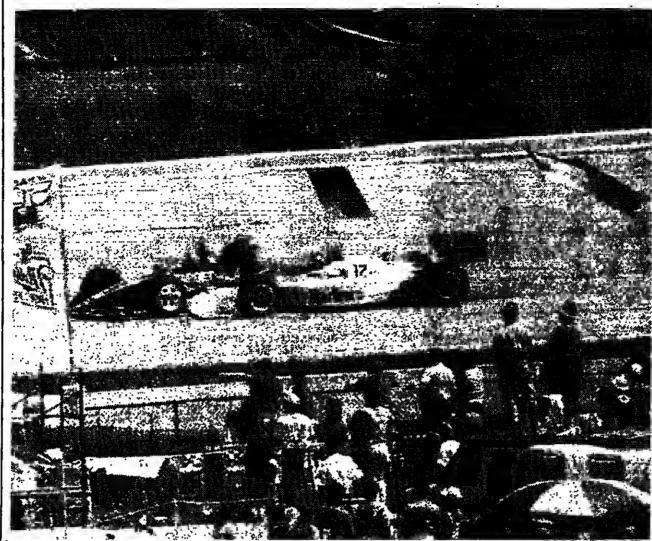
Then there is the matter of the two past playoff series between the Bulls and Barkley, before the trade last year that sent him to the Suns from Philadelphia. Both second-round series, in 1990 and 1991, ended with the Bulls winning in five games.

"Charles knows that," Jackson said. "And that helps. I'm sure he's got a better supporting cast than he has ever had in his life, but still, the fact is that we've had great success against teams that Charles has been

The Bulls were also drawing on recent history. They remembered a similar position in 1991, their first championship season. A cathartic four-game sweep of Detroit in the conference finals ended three straight years of frustration against the Pis-tons, but left the Bulls four victories away from a championship. A series with the Lakers still remained.

"At that time, we weren't as experienced," said center Bill Cartwright. "We were just happy to get past Detroit - that was the speculation amongst you guys. Amongst us, we felt we have this opportunity to win, we're certainly capable. Now, with us being pretty healthy. we're in the same situation.

John Paxson was more direct. "We understand there's still another series out there," he said. "There



Scott Goodyear, who was leading at the time, collided with Arie Luyendyk on lap 141, knocking both cars out of the race.

the Suns wish they had a healthy

Cedric Ceballos, a jumping jack of a small forward who scored 30 in a

regular-season Suns victory in Chi-

cago. But Ceballos has a stress frac-

ture in his left foot, had surgery on

Saturday and is now an assistant

If Dumas fails against Pippen, the onus fails on Chambers, a 34-

year-old former All-Star who alter-

nately airballed and swished shots

in the Seattle series. Saturday was one of his flashback days, as be

scored 17, but he still is several

years removed from being able to

"I think Phoenix is in for a dog-

fight," said Seattle's Eddie John-

son, "Chicago's got Superman and

the second coming of Superman in Pippen. I don't think they'll let

Barkley cream them. They've got

big bodies, too, that aren't offen-

sive-minded - Horace Grant,

Scott Williams. Those guys think

not account for is Kevin Johnson

an angry point guard who has been

labeled mjury-prone and a past

Phoenix scapegoat who agrees be has "a chip on his sboulder." B.J.

Armstrong of the Bulls cannot keep up with this wippet.

go as far as us two can carry us, me

Seattle's coach, George Karl, said the Suns can win if they "can

score 100 points," but most experts

consider Phoenix "soft" and favor

the Bulls. Barkley, smirking and

"I've said 100 times we can only

The one Sun the Bulls likely can-

defense for 48 minutes.

Mansell Wins Again, In Milwaukee Race

MILWAUKEE - You can believe Nigel Mansell when he says he's a fast learner.

making only his second start on an car victory, lost the lead to Mansell The 39-year-old Englishman. oval track, passed pole-winner on a clean pass on lap 182.

Rani Boesel for the lead with 19

Mansell's pass for the lead laps from the end to win Sunday's in turn two. Miller Genuine Draft 200 at the Milwankee Mile. "I still consider myself on a

learning curve," said the reigning Formula One champion. who picked up his second Indy car victory in five starts and added to the series point lead he brought into the 200-mile event, coming away with a 70-52 edge over Boesel, with third-place limisher Emerson Fitti-

paldi next with 51. Mansell, who moved to the Indy car series over the winter and won the season-opener in Australia, fin-ished third behind Fittipaldi and Arie Luyendyk in the Indianapolis 500 after the other two passed him

on a late restart. "I learned a very painful lesson

have that happen again."
Boesel finished 0.514-seconds behind Mansell in the battle of Ford Cosworth-powered Lolas. I put some pressure on to see if take, but that didn't happen." he

Boesel, hoping to earn his first win and give team owners Dick and Diane Simon their first-ever Indy

Mansell's pass for the lead came laps remaining then held off the tenacious Brazilian on a restart two nearly lost control in turbulent air

> "That was an exiting moment," Mansell said. Traffic was a major problem

> through the race, with 17 of the 25 cars running at the end. Paul Tracy, who crashed while leading a race at Phoenix in April. did it again at Milwaukee, this time tangling with Luyendyk on lap 142 when Luyendyk slowed to awaid

Fernandez of Mexico. The only injury reported was a hruised knee suffered by Stefan Johansson of Sweden in a one-car crash early in the race.

the crashed car of rookie Adrian

Carl Hass co-owner of Newman-Haas Racing with actor Paul Newman that fields cars for Manin Indianapolis on the restart sell and Mario Andretti, and also there," he said. "I wasn't going to the promoter of the Milwankee place before Friday. I was just hoping to go away from here with some points." race, said, "I'm just terribly im-pressed with Nigel. It's only his second oval race. He never saw this

A Linguini Killer vs. the Clam

By Tom Friend

boycotts out here.

New York Times Service PHOENIX - With Charles Barkley starring for the Suns, this will either he a championship series or a situation comedy. No media

Barkley, a rebounding and quote machine, will be asked in the next fortnight about Michael Jordan, gambling, golf, baldness, role models and Madonna, and he will answer his heart out.

"I'm going to be on NBC at least admitting that the singer/actress is his telephone pal. "I'll get more puh than her. Of course, she's got her movies. I've got to win a ring first, then I can make a movie. I'm on a mission."

For the first time since Jordan tangled with Magic Johnson in 1991, the National Basketball Association has a marquee matchup for the finals, even with only half of the billboard speaking.

Jordan's two-time defending Barkley's never-before-a-champion Suns are finesse, so it should be a sprint of a four-of-seven-games series, assuming Barkley's body has again been renourished with pasta.

Barkley said he was "killing" lin-guint the day before the Suns' Western Conference finale with Seattle, which is how he mustered enough strength to score 44 points and lasso 24 rebounds in a 123-110 victory. Otherwise, considering he has mostly been a one-man band since October, Barkley's legs would have been lead.

As the Suns look ahead to this final round, the franchise's first since its epic loss to John Havlicek's Boston Celtics in 1976, they need the Barkley of Saturday, the Richard Dumas of February and the Tom Chambers of 1985. They need Kevin Johnson's offense, Dan Majerle's defense and Oliver Miller

to stop sneaking french fries. The difference in the two teams is that the Bulls have proved they can win when Jordan has a mediocre game (see Scottle Pippen in the Knicks series), whereas the Suns have flopped whenever Barkley has turned mundane,

 Barkley knows this, which is why be told the Suns executive, Cotton Fitzsimmons, last weekend. You're lucky to bave me."

Unfortunately for Phoenix. Barkley matches up with neither Jordan nor Pippen, Jordan is much too swift for Barkley and likely will be shadowed instead by Majerle, a byperdefender who silenced Seattle's Ricky Pierce on Saturday. Pippen also may be too slippery for Barkley, which makes Dumas — who in Fehruary was being compared to Julius Erving - a centerpiece again.

Dumas, a rookie, was benched in the seventh game against Seattle, simply because be could not match up with the Sonics' 6-foot, 10-inch Derrick McKey. Coach Paul West-phal, so that Durnas would not have his chin baried in his chest, said he promised Dumas before Saturday's tip-off, "If we advance, you'll start against Chicago."

Pippen is more Dumas's size, and the fast tempo may illuminate Azinger's Chip **Steals Memorial**

New York Times Service DUBLIN, Ohio - With the greatest sand shot ever hit hy the best bunker player on the PGA Tour, Paul Azinger made a lightning bolt of a hirdie on the 72d bole to steal the Momorial Tournament from his

close friend, Payne Stewart. Trailing Stewart by one stroke on the final hole Sunday, Azinger nipped the ball from what appeared to be a bopeless position at the bottom of a steep bunker. The ball barely cleared the lip, skittered for two bops and rolled slowly toward the hole 20 feet away. There, it teetered on the

left edge and fell in.
Azinger fell to his knees in the sand. Stewart was so shocked be missed the 8-foot par putt be needed to tie.

Azinger finished 69-274, a stroke better than Corey Pavin, who closed with 67. Slewart, who was so undone that be ped out the 3-footer he bad left after missing his putt to tie and finished third at 276.

full of I-told-you-so's, adores this rare underdog role.

Pick against him, you instantly become his enemy. And that in-cludes the Knicks' Patrick Ewing. ho has predicted a Bulls title.

"Patrick's on vacation, isn't be?" Barkley said, "People who ain't working shouldn't voice their opinion on the economy. Catch my drift?"

The Souring of Michael Jordan

By Ira Berkow New York Times Service

NEW YORK - Michael Jordan was stretched out on a couch in a hotel room in Cleveland with

earphones on, quietly listening to music, and thinking. Thinking not so much of the Bulls' playoff game the next night, or of those many games ahead or the glorious games behind, but of his simple good fortune. "Amazing how things have clicked so perfectly." he said then, "and how easily everything might have gone

Gone sour? "Well," he said, "like the gambling." At tbe time, he tbought he had

Vantage dodged a builer. Point But another,

striking image of him occurred last Friday night in Chicago Stadium, in the sixth and final game of the Eastern Conference finals against the Knicks. In the second half, the World's Best Basketball Player, the World's Greatest Athlete and Corporate America's Darling, appeared, even to his coach, Phil Jackson, "fatigued." He appeared to have lost some of his exalted bounce.

Things were souring.

First had come the news that Jordan had been gambling in Atlantic City until 2:30 in the morning when he had a game that night in Madison Square Garden. He said he was back in his Manhattan hotel room by 1 A.M. - and he scored 36 points in that the beadlines nagged him to such a degree that the usually gregarious Jordan clammed up.

Then, on the eve of Friday's game, a book by Richard Esquinas, one of Jordan's former golfing pals. was circulated, saying that Jordan had owed Esquinas was circulated, saying that Jordan had owed Esquinas as much as \$1.25 million on bets, then had negotiated the deht down to \$300,000 but had repaid only \$200,000. Esquinas got on television and told how he wrote the book to help himself get over a gambling addiction and to help Michael Jordan get over denial of a gambling addiction It sounded self-rightcous and self-serving. Nothing in Esquinas's background demonstrated such charitable proclivities. It sounded as if Richard Esquinas wanted to cash in on Michael Jor-dan as many, from Nike to McDonald's have done.

We know that in the past, Jordan incurred losses of \$57,000 in golf, poker and dice to a convicted cocaine dealer named James (Slim) Bouler and that photocopies of three of Jordan's checks totaling \$108,000 were found in the trunk of a murdered bail bondsman's car.

While all this may be Jordan's private business, it does of course have an impact on his place in the sports world. "And this is just the gambling debts that we know of." Esquinas said. He wonders, legatimately. if Jordan, this meaner-than-a-junkyard-dog competitor, has debts strewn around the country from "chasing," the term used for doubling up on your losses to try to get even, in the way that Esquinas says the \$1.25 illion debt was created. Jordan has issued a statement, calling Esquinas's

figures "preposterous." But when Estamas writes that Jordan explained that a million dollars for him was the equivalent of \$100,000 or less for Esquines, it sounds accurate: Jordan, conceivably embargassed by his gambling losses, and perhaps now exposed not only as a fish but a welshies; becomes mentally extinated.

Does Jonian have a gambing problem? Does he simply use had judgment? Or is all this blown out of proportion?

WOULD MICHAEL JORDAN ever entertain for a second the notion that he could shave a few

points in a game to shave his gambling debt? Or could he be prevailed upon, as Esquinas wonders, to sit out a game with something like a twisted ankle?

It boggles the imagination to even consider Jordan in this context. Which is why all this should legitimately scare him. For Jordan, despite all his levitation, is human. Jordan contemplates, too, the time when he will retire from basketball. "I don't want to go out the way.

Dr.J did." be said. "As great as he was, people were saying he was over the hill, couldn't do what he used to do. I thought he was still great when I saw him, but I don't want people saying that about me. You know. I three years from now, I might not he here, either. 0

For now, though, he has a National Baskethall 3 Association championship series against Phoenix and Charles Barkley with which to concern himself. Michael Jordan seeks to win a third straight NBA title, a dream for him, a sweet dream in a time of sour.



HE DOESN'T CAUSE ME ANY PROBLEM, HE IS THE PROBLEM!

JUMBILE."

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CALVIN AND HOBBES



OK, THIS GUY GOES INTO A BAR. NO, WAIT, HE. OR MAYBE IT'S A GROCER STORE. OK IT DOESN'T HATTE LET'S SAY IT'S A' BAR. HE'S





WIZARD of ID







REX MORGAN



GARFIELD LING IN FOR ODIE



PSSST, TRY TO LOOK DUMBER

AAAABBCCDEEGGGKFFFFFFFFEE

- ARCHARACA ARCH

By Ian Thomsen International Herald Tribune

PARIS - By the end, Jim Court-

From his perspective, of course,

this is a mistaken observation. How

can somebody work too hard? But

this is how he looked Sunday in the

final of the French Open: Zealous

and untiring, yet never able to fin-ish the combinations that had were

him three of the five previous

Just last month the American

had renewed his dominance on clay

by overwheiming Goran Ivanesevic in the Italian Open. Three weeks

later, he was losing the French fi-nal, by 6-4, 2-6, 6-2, 3-6, 6-3, so Sergi Bruguera of Spain — a first-round loser here last year and win-

less in nine previous sets against

when you are going to play the best, and I don't know if I left my best

tennis in Rome or not," said Courier. "May he it's still in my body, but

I never felt like I was really hitting my stride during the tournament. But that didn't stop me from get-ting through the matches."

"It's hard to explain," continued

Courier, 22. "I can feel when I'm not crisp, and I was never at my 'A'

er looked like a boxer who had trained and trained and trained

himself to nothing.

Grand Slam titles.

SPORTS TENNIS

Under Attack In California

full, The Japanese sumo wrestler Takanohana had his hands full, even if his prestige was not threatened, during the Sumo Basho in San Jose, California. The exhibition toursament, - Major on ECM which featured the sport's three Hawaiian stars — Akebono, Konishiki and Musashimaru drew a sellout crowd that didn't know much about sumo but was delighted in seeing 38 of Japan's best fling them-selves at one another. Akebono, the 6-foot, 8-inch, 466-pound Hawaiian who, in January, became the first non-Japanese promoted to su-mo's highest rank, was the win-ner and, perhaps fitting for someone his size, got, among other prizes, a year's supply



Brewers' Gloves Work Till 9th, But Royals Win on Gwynn's Hit

The Associated Press er Chris Bosio sustained a collarbone injury, several players were bloodied and seven were noon, Milwaukee outfielders made nifty sliding ejected.
catches of balls falling at their feet on Kansas Bosic . City's wet artificial turf. But not the fourth time.

ALROUNDUP

and Hubie Brooks sped home from first to give the Royals an 8-7 victory over the Brewers.

Reimer made a nice play on a ball coming in
wery similar to that earlier, said the Brewers'

manager, Phil Garner. "Tom Brunansky also made a nice play sliding. One thing you know
for sure, though, when Reiner doesn't catch it,
he's giving you 100 percent of what he's got."
Brooks opened the imning with a single off
James Austin. With one out and facing Jesse

Orosco, Gwynn bit a ball that Reimer got his glove on, but the ball rolled behind him and Brooks, who had stopped at second, burried

Billy Spiers's pinch-hit triple keyed a six-tun rally as Milwaukee took a 7-6 lead in the sixth inning. Wally Joyner started the Kansas City
seventh with a single off Graeme Lloyd and
scored on Brent Mayne's double, making it 7-all. George Brett of the Royals left the game shortly after fouling a ball off his right foot in the second inning. X-rays were negative, and he was listed as day-to-day.

Rangers 4, Yankees 3: Juan Gonzalez hit his
15th homer this year and Gino Petralli added a
solo shot as Texas, playing at home, staked
Kenny Rogers to yet another first-inning lead
that the left-hander finally made stand up.
The Rangers had scored at least three runs. The Rangers had scored at least three runs in the first inning of Rogers's last three starts, but the was unable to hold the lead each time. This time, however, Texas scored four runs in the first off Melido Perez and the Yankees were mable to catch up.

■ In earlier games, reported in some Monday

editions:
Orioles 5, Mariners 2: Mike Deversaux and
Partimore won its Orioles 5, Mariners 2: Mike Deversaux and Harold Baines homered as Baltimore won its scason-high fourth straight to complete a sweep

of visiting Seattle.

During a fight that delayed the game for 20 minutes after Seattle's Bill Haselman charged the mound when he was hit by a pitch from Mike Mussina in the seventh, the Seattle pitch-

Bosio, who had returned from the disabled list May 28 after recovering from a broken collarbone, may have had the collarbone bro-With the score tied in the ninth, the left ken again. He was to undergo X-rays in Seattle fielder Kevin Reimer failed to make a sliding on Monday to determine the extent of the catch of Chris Gwynn's opposite-field liner, damage.

Tigers 11, Angels 4: Cecil Fielder hit two three-run homers and drove in seven runs, powering Detroit past visiting California.

Twins 5, Indians 4: Kirby Puckett hit his 150th homer in the majors and Scott Erickson won for the first time in his last five starts as Minnesota prevailed in Cleveland.

White Sox 4, Red Sox 3: Ron Karkovice's two-run homer capped a three-run rally in the seventh that got Chicago past visiting Boston.

Olympic Downhill Race For Women Is Moved

OSLO — Organizers of the 1994 Winter Olympics said Monday the women's down-hill would be moved to the more challenging men's plate at Kvittjell after criticism from skiers and the International Ski Federation.

in a World Cup downhill there in March.

for two runs in the first inning and denied him

Marlins 9. Padres 2: Florida swept a three-

game series for the first time as pitcher Chris

Hammond hit a bome run for the expansion

Marlins during a four-run eighth inning. Cubs 4, Expos 1: Greg Hibbard held host Montreal to six hits in 7% innings as Chicago

snapped a four-game losing streak and avoided

a four-game sweep.
Rich Wilkins, Derrick May and Mark Grace

■ In earlier games, reported in some Monday

Phillies 11, Rockies 7: Pete Incaviglia and

Mariano Dumcan hit consecutive home runs in the sixth to help beat visiting Colorado as Philadelphia won for the 10th time in its last 13

games. Darren Daulton and Jim Eisenreich

each drove in three runs for the Phillies.

Cardinals 5, Reds 1: Ray Lankford doubled

home two runs in a three-run sixth as St. Louis

straight day to defeat New York.

his 100th major league victory.

had RBI-hits for the Cubs.

won in Cincinnati.

Smoltz 5-Hitter Cools Dodgers

John Smoltz, with his first victory in nearly four weeks, pitched a five-hitter in Los Angeles

to cool off the Dodgers.

"He's been awfully good," the Braves' manager, Bobby Cox, said after Sunday's 2-0 victory ended the Dodgers' team-record 13-game

NL ROUNDUP

winning streak at home. "He's been pitching in tough luck. He's been pitching as well as he did

Smoltz walked four and struck out a season high 12 for his first shutout and third complete

The victory was only the fourth in the last 12 games for the Braves, while the Dodgers lost for just the third time in the last 12 games. Smoltz hadn't won since May 11, with two losses and two no-decisions in his last four outings. The Braves lost all four.

Knuckleballer Tom Candiotti was a hard-luck loser, allowing just four hits in eight innings while walking three and striking out seven.

"I feel like I've had this stuff every game,"

The Braves scored in the ninth, off reliever Pedro Martinez, on a single by David Justice and an RBI triple by Sid Bream.

Astros 5, Mets 4: Scott Servais' third double

of the game scored the go-ahead run in the

NATIONAL LEAGUE

L-Schourek, 2-7, Sw-Jones (17), KR3-Kew York, Orsulok (3), Houston, Cedeno (3), Co-

Alterite 990 tab 991—2 6 1
Los Angeles 990 900 000—2 6 9
Smoftz and Ospon; Conditotil, P. Nacritinez (9)
ond Plazza, W.—Smoftz, 5-5. L.—Canalatti. 3-5.

Son Diese SEI 006 FIE-2 9 3 Hometond. Hoffman (8) and Sontions: Bro-cell, Toylor (6), Gamez (6), Ethics (3), Rodri-gulzz (9) and Garen, P. Clark (9), W.—Hom-mand, 5-4, L.—Brocoll, 1-1, HRS—Hometond (1), Barbarie (1).

002 182 000-7 7 2 001 000 010-2 7 3

"Moving will cost us a net 2.3 million kroner." or \$336,000, said Torstein Rudi, a spokesman for the Lillehammer Games orga-

FIS opposed earlier proposals by the organizers to redesign the women's downhill course at Hafiell at a cost of \$467,000.

To make the move possible, FIS agreed to cut women's downhill training from three

days to two. This will help cut costs and avoid disruption of the tight program of events. The skiers had crincized the course at Haf-jell as too flat and dull when they competed

For Ever-Irreverent Nastase, It's (Star) Business as Usual "Ion Tiriac has made a name for By Christopher Clarey

tests on the foot.

starts in three weeks time.

with Jeanifer Caprian.

disappointed, because that is some-

thing that is not in my control. I did

everything that was in my control the way I think I should have." Probably 20 one on the ATP

game, I think I was at my 'B' game Tour is more regimented in his apquite a bit, but, you know, I still proach than Courier. You need sive" third game as Bruguera stead-

Special to the Hersld Tribing

PARIS - Nearly 20 years to the day since he won his last Grand Slam singles title on the elegant, clay-covered premises of Roland Garros, The Nastase was camped out in a hospitality tent at the stadi-um and brandishing his credential in the direction of a Frenchman. The badge read. "Ilie Nastase,

Romanian Davis Cup captain."
"You see this," Nastase said loudly in French, waving his left arm and delighting in the commotion. "We're your competitors now. We're going after the Cup."

"But you're in the Cup."

"But you're in the fourth division," the Frenchman replied with a langh.

"Give us three years," Nastase said with a theatrical grimace as he settled back into his chair and resumed an oft-interrupted conversa-Giants 7. Pirates 1: Barry Bonds and Will Clark each hit two-run doubles to help San the attention span of a teenager

wielding a remote control.

"Most of the people in Romania Francisco defeat visiting Pittsburgh.
The Giants, salvaging a split of the four-game series, jumped on right-hander Bob Walk wanted me to be the captain be-cause I played Davis Cup for so long," Nastase said, eyes searching the sunlit room for another foil. The federation asked me to do it a couple of years ago, and I didn't have the time. But this year, I said yes. They have a couple of young team in San Diego. Bret Barbarie hit a three-run homer for the players with a (ot of talent, and I ink they can improve by playing

Davis Cup."
This is not to imply that Nastase, the longtime dilettante, has embarked on a full-time occupation. Eight years after his mercurial ca-reer dribbled to a halt many tournaments too late with a first-round U.S. Open loss, he still dodges the professional ties that bind.

He and his second wife, Alexandra, and their two children spend several months a year in France and two months in New York. The rest of the time, Nastase is on the road playing senior tournaments, making appearances and occasion-ally visiting friends and family in his native Bucharest.

himself as a businessman, but Nas-Monte Carlo next month.

For Courier, Training to a Fault?

Foot Injury May Keep Graf

From Playing Wimbledon

PARIS — Steffi Graf, the newly crowned French Open women's champion, played her semifinals and final with pain-killing injections and may have to pull out of Wimbledon because of a foot

injury, medical officials said Monday.

Graf, the defending champion and four times a winner at Wimble-

don, delayed her departure to London on Monday to have further

Doctors at the Paris tournament said she may have an Achilles'

tendon problem or a stress fracture of the right foot, an injury that

would almost certainly stop her from playing at Wimhledon, which

They said Graf, whose victory in Saturday's women's final over Mary Joe Fernandez took her past Monica Seles to the top of

the world rankings, burt her foot near the end of her quarterfinal

injection but complained she had no sensation in the foot. A smaller dose was administered for the three-set final against

Graf played her semifinal against Anke Huber with a pain-killing

made it in the final and played only watch the international shoe pretty well in the final. So I am not commercials to hear him discussing

tase is still busy being a star," said Dan Fischer, a Bucharest-born financier who is attempting to make use of Nastase's notoriety to launch an investment bank in Romania. "I'd be unhappy if I had to go work somewhere in a factory or

even if I owned the factory and had to work there everyday." Nastase said. I like to be involved in tennis, Even if I don't play and make the money anymore, I just want to be around." For those who watched him al-

ternate between brilliance and buffoonery for nearly two decades on the world's show courts, Nastase is not difficult to spot. His fine, dark hair, thinning slightly on top, is still

Ilie Nastase still dodges the professional ties that bind.

long. While his many free lunches tend to show on his waistline, he is, for now, quite trim and is preparing to compete in the seniors event during the second week at Wimbledon. "It gives me something to do; I don't think I could take a plane to London and just watch for one or two days," said Nastase, who, in August, will play in one of the three

On court, Nastase still has a remarkable serve and a bag full of trick shots, but his technique never beyond reproach - and hall-

events in Jimmy Connors's fledg-ling seniors tour in the United

him, but they did not change his talent," said Tiriae, Nastase's former doubles partner. mer doubles partner. Davis Cup sidekick and manager. "You can change the color of a Mercedes, but

it will stay a Mercedes." When Nastase won the French Open in 1973, he did it without losing a set (only Tony Trabert and Borg have done the same) and Philippe Chatrier, the new president of the French Tennis deration at the time, proudly proclaimed "the beginning of a long reign." But Nastase would prove his friend Chatrier a poor prophet, never advancing past the

quarterfinals again.
"I guess Philippe didn't know me enough then." Nastase said. with a chuckle.

Nastase, who has missed only one French Open since 1966, is closer to Chatrier's recently elected successor, Christian Bimes, who quickly put him to work organizing parties for former players at this Open. Nastase is also helping coor-dinate the Romanian Davis Cup

team's matches against Monaco in

his four-hour workouts. His ideal is

to be better prepared than anyone

else. He broke serve to begin the

fifth set, but he could not maintain his attack. His coach, Jose Hi-

It is all part of Nastase's increas-ing interest in his homeland, where even after the 1989 revolution, he and the gymnast Nadia Comaneci remain the sporting heroes of refer-

"I was a little suspicious when I went there the first time after the changes, but I was there two weeks ago, and it seems much better." Nastase said. "It's slow, of course. but things seem to be going the right way. At least now there aren't lines in the airport because people are trying to get out of the country. Before, I didn't want to get in-volved, but now I think I do,"

While the idea of a John McEntoe Investment Group might not generate much enthusiasm in the United States, Eastern Europe is a different market. The former Polish tennis star Wojtek Fibak has built a small publishing empire bearing his name in Poland; Tiriac has launched a commercial bank named for him in Romania. Now,

Nastase plans to lend his reputa-tion to a group of investment bank-"It's oot a fly-by-night thing," Fischer said, "The World Bank ap-proached him. Right now, we've

got \$5 million in capital and lines for another \$50 million. It should start in September." Nastase's Davis Cup role has

been largely ceremonial, amounting to three days in Lagos for Romanja's 4-1 victory over Nigeria in the first round of play in Euro/A-frican Zone Group II.

"One night, he took us to dinner at the Romanian Embassy, the other night be left," said Razvan Sa-

singles matches.
But Sabau, a regular at the Nick
Bollettieri Tennis Academy in Florida, is well aware of what Nastase's presence could mean in the sport in Romania, even if the team cannot qualify for the World Group until 1996 in the best of circumstances.

"It will make the tennis better," Sabau said. "Everybody knows him at home, even the 8- and 10-year-

where, bowever. On Children's Day at Roland Garros, a group of French boys surrounded Nastase, offering up scraps of paper for autographs. Nasiase, visibly de-lighted, did his best to oblige them.

But when a bystander asked two of the boys if they knew whose signature they had just obtained, they both looked up a hit puzzled. "Somone told us it was Jimmy Connors," one of the boys said. "But this signature doesn't look like anything like Jimmy Connors."

ied himself, holding serve. He then hroke Courier twice to strip him of

"I thought I had it in control and I did think he was hanging his head a little bit." Courier said. "I give the credit to him, because he stormed right back."

His loss creates a likelihood that, for the third time in four years, the Grand Slams will be divided among four players. Among his millionaire peers, only Couner appears able in be dominant. It is an exhausting mission. He had won five titles at this time last year, including the Australian and French Opens. He did not win for the rest of the season.

Courier plans to change his approach for the second half this year. Last year he was weary in August; this year he wants to peak for the U.S. Open, which starts

Ang. 30.
He even has reason to be positive about Wimbledon, ever since Andre Agassi won from the back last year. as Courier begins practicing on grass this week in Florida, he is preparing to stick with his normal baseline game when Wimbledon begins June 24.

This might be Counter's best chance at Wimbledon, whose champions are struggling. Tendunius of the wrist kept Agassi from playing in the French Open, and he may not play at Wimbiedon. Mi-chael Such (the 1991 utilist). Stefan Edberg [1990 and 1988] and Boris Becker (1989, 1986 and 1985) are

not exactly peaking.

Bruguera has now won eight titles, all on clay, so he will not he a
factor. The Wimbledon favorite might be the No. I-ranked Pete Sampras, a Bruguera victim in the quarterfinal last week. Though Sampras hasn't won a Grand Slam title since the 1990 U.S. Open, he surpassed Courier in the rankings this spring. Their exchange said lit-tle about the virtues of the two players, and a lot for the ignorance of the Tour's ranking system. But Sampras has enjoyed a consistent year, his game is suited to Wimbledon, and no one expects him to go much longer without a Grand Slam

Courier, meanwhile, appeared serene in defeat. During the awards ceremony be joked in French that last year he had spoken the language like a Spanish cow, and this year be had played a Spanish bull.

"There is no question that I am a

very intense person when I am here to work," Courier said, "I am not here to play around. Now that the work is over, it is time to relax a little bit, and take a little break." How much work is too much? That is the question for the game's bardest worker.

French Team in Disarray France's two top tennis players may miss the France-India Davis Cup quarterfinal, the French Tennis Federation president said Mon-

At a post-French Open news conference, the federation presi-dent, Christian Bimes, said Guy Forget will not play at Wimhledon and was questionable for the July 14-16 Davis Cup encounter in Fre-

jus, France.
Forget had to withdraw from the French Open with knee problems and won't be ready for the June 21 start of Wimbledon. Cedric Pioline, in Forget's ab-

sence the highest-ranked French player to compete in the French Open, was put off the Davis Cup squad in a conflict over training methods. Pioline, who lost in the final of

the Monte Carlo Open against French Open champion Sergi Bru-guera, has refused to conform to French team training requirements and has continued individual preparation with his personal coach, Henri Dumont.

The French federation said that would be disruptive in a team almosphere for the Davis Cup and dropped Pioline from the list of

Bimes said he would present a list of players to the national tennis council June 18.

 According in the Women's Tennis Association's weekly rankings, released Monday, Steffi Graf is now officialy the No. 1-ranked woman tennis player, with 329.8852 points, Monica Seles, who lost points after being unable in

defend her French title, is second with 306.3144. Aranxta Sanchez Vicario of Spain is third with

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SCOREBOARD

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5. Viodimir Pouhskev, Ukrama, Carina, Jacob-Tessoni, 2:43; & Tonkev, 3:19; 7. Fondries; 3:26; 8. Stephen Roche, Ireland, Correra Jeons-Tossoni, 4:50; 9. Argentin, 7:22; 10.

TRANSACTIONS

BASEBALL

AMBAS CITY—Pet Devid Howard, Infielder, on 15-day disobled Hist. Recalled Rico Roses, Infielder, from Omphia, A.A. Activated Kerlin McReynolds, outfielder, from 15-day disobled list.

N.Y. YANKERS—Put Randy Velords, Infielder, on 15-day disobled list. Recalled Andy Stankiewicz, Infielder, from Columbus, IL.

SOCCER WORLD CUP QUALIFIERS Bobroin 3. India 8

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Sv-Myers 177. CRICKET FIRST YEST England Vs. Australia, Flacil Day Monday, in Manchester, England

in Germany just call tell free: 0130-848585

SIDELINES

French Assure FIFA on Cup Stadium

PARIS 7 (AFP) — FIFA's president, João Havelange, said Monday he had been assured by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur that an 80,000 capacity stadium would be built in Paris for the 1998 World Cup finals, with the choice of the site to be made in six weeks.

The Socialist government chose Melun-Senart, 45 kilometers from Paris, for the stadium. But this has been put in doubt by the new conservative

administration which has both questioned the site and the cost. Havelange, who said there was no question of reducing the capacity of the stadium, added: "The agreement which sets out an 80,000-seat stadium and provincial venues of 40,000 to 60,000 was signed by the

Sprinter Livingston Loses Drug-Ban Appeal

LONDON (Reuters) — British sprinter Jason Livingston has lost his appeal of a four-year han for use of the drug methandianone, the British hletic Federation said Monday.

A three-man independent panel, which met Friday, dismissed the appeal on a 2-1 majority decision. the federation said in a statement Livingston was sent home the Barcelona Olympics after the drug was found in a random out-of-competi-

For the Record

Lance Armstrong, the young star of U.S. cycling, got a \$1 million bonus for winning the USPRO Championship in Philadelphia plus a race in Pittsburgh and one in West Virginia: he said he would split the money with his Motorola Cornel Ding, the manager of Ro-

mania's national soccer team, has been fired for poor results in World Cup qualifying matches, the feder-ation said Monday. (Renters) It's easy to subscribe

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ART BUCHWALD

Hit the Ground Jogging

has Washington aghast.

"How," the town is asking, "could the White House have selected Buchwald for this cabinet post in the first place?"

I hate jogging, and I hate people who jog. I think that it's a silly way for anyone to spend his time, and all you get out of it is pain.

views My have been published in such learned journals as Athlete's

Buchwald Foot, Vacity Heel and Broken Knee Magazioe. Why the White House hadn't read them before offering me the iob is something I'll never know.

I recall vividly the first meeting I had with the White House person-

"Does the president know how much I hate jogging?" I asked a 23year-old aide.

"The president just wants the best man for the job and the only thing he feels bad about is that you are not a woman. He's willing to

U.S. Agency Settles Suit by 4 Artists

Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — The National Endowment for the Arts has agreed to give \$128,000 to four artists who claimed that their

epplications for grants were rejected inproperly. The out-of-court settlement ends the dispute between the agency and Karen Finley, Holly Hughes, Tim Milter and John Fleck, A portion of the suit that disputes the constitutionality of the "standards of decency" provision of the NEA statute is still being considered. The artists will receive \$26,000 to compensate for the grants that were denied them in 1990 and \$6,000 for each to meet their claims under the Privacy Act that information about them was

illegally released to the media.

WASHINGTON — The recent fire storm over the president's decision to withdraw my hame as his secretary for jogging think that we'll have any trouble from the FBI about you because of all the gold medals you have won in the Olympics."

"I've never won any gold medals in the Olympics." "Well, someone in your family has or it wouldn't be in your file."

I agreed to allow my name to be submitted for the job assuming that once the White House recommended you for a position, it would be a

It didn't turn out to be that way. The Reebok sneaker people were the first to discover where I stood on the jogging issue and launched a full-scale advertising campaign against the appointment. Nike followed with a television attack showing hidden video footage of me as a fat, listless person who couldn't see his shoelaces to tie

The media began to question President Clinton's judgment in selecting someone as cootroversial as myself to such a vital post.

Finally, at 3 o'clock in the morning the president called me to the White House and said. "You're

"Does this mean that you're not going to back me as your jogging chief?"

"I made a mistake. I didn't know that you hated jogging as much as "I have good reason, People who

jog always look as if they need a "Nevertheless, there are too many joggers in the Senate who could block your commation. I can't defend the articles that you

have written ridiculing their favorite pastime." I can understand that, Mr. President, but there are a lot of people out there who hate jogging as much

as I do. Shouldn't they have a voice io this administratioo?" "Of course, but I have to think of my budget first and I can't afford to go to battle for someone who

considers that running is dumb."
"Why are you doing this, sir?" "It's very simple, I can't stand the heat so I'm getting out of the

A Vietnam Movie Through a Different Lens

By Linda Ilene Solomon

PARIS — Despite the large number of Vietnam War files Vietnam War films produced in the past 15 years, theatergoers don't know much about the special kind of angst the war created for immigrant Viennamese in America.

Tiana Alexandra's award-winning documentary "From Hollywood to Hanoi." promises to change that.

"I used to apologize for being Vietnam-ese." says the Vietnamese-born, Ameri-can-reared actress turned filmmaker. "As children in American schools, we were laheled the gooks, the Chinks, the Viet Cong. Vietnamese were the guys killing American Gls. I wanted to be good and that meant being American. What kind of role models are we giving Asian-American kids now except for Rambo? We must have other role models."

As writer, director, star and promoter of "From Hollywood to Hanoi," Alexandra, whose Vietnamese name is The Thanh Nga, is the role model.

The daughter of a former director of press relations for the foreign ministry of South Vietnam. Alexandra left Vietnam in 1966 when she was 4 years old. Her father lold her to take a good look at her country because she would never see it again. The family settled in Washington, where Alexandra's father went to work for the Voice of America. At the age of 12 she began studying martial arts with Bruce Lee.
"I was the original Karate Kid," she

After starring in action films and a how-to Jane Fonda-style "Karate-cize video." she came to be known as "the female Bruce Lee." She was Lee's only female student; in Hollywood where he took her to visit a tournament, he introduced her as his protegee. At 16, she ran away from home and set herself up io Hollywood. where she played in a oumber of films including "Pearl," "Fly Away Home" and "Catch the Heart." She was also known as Tiana Banana, nock video star.

"I was a performing monkey, Ever since I was a little kid I wanted to please."

Alexandra says. In Hollywood, however, the desire to please waned. "So many producers in Hollywood think if you're an Asian actress coming for casting, you're going to give them a massage, right then and there. There was a very well-known producer. When I came to see him, he locked the door, lounged on the couch and kicked off

"He said, 'All Orientals are exotic and they all give great massages. Are you good at giving massages?' I was a black-belt martial artist in great form. I could have just karate-chopped him and that would

have been the end of it. But I told him to unlock the door or I would climb out his first-floor window. He opened the door. On the way out I turned to his secretary and said, 'Do you know what kind of man that you work for, who locks the door when he's casting for actresses?' After-wards I started to think, I'm oot porting up with this any more. I want to do what he does. I want to be him. I want to have the

casting couch." Disenchanted with Hollywood and frustrated by the limited roles available for Shakespearean-trained Asian-American actresses. Alexandra took the advice of her acting teacher. Sandra Seacat, who told her she'd find "all the power in the universe" in going back to her roots. Her father, an ardent anti-Communist, opposed her going back to Vietnam, but she made the trip anyway in 1988 with a delegation of Vietnam veterans and filmmakers. The delega-tion included Oliver Stone ("Born on the Fourth of July," "Platoon" and "IFK"). himself a Vietnam veteran.

When the mayor of Vinh, the birthplace of Ho Chi Minh, asked Alexandra to "help build a hridge," it struck a deep chord. Alexandra recalls:

"She broke into sonnets and said 'a bridge of friendship that we can build to-gether from San Francisco to Vinh, to cross day people were talking to me like this. I was breaking down and crying. I realized that I had come home, that I was among people who were speaking my language and that it was the language of poetry."

Stone, observing this, was impressed. He told Alexandra, "You have to go back and make this film."

She said, "What film?" He said, "Of people's reaction to you Don't you see it? Their reaction to you is the healing and reconciliation for you and your people. This is going to be bigger than you can imagine. This is going to be the most powerful, incredible thing that

you ever do." "Oliver's a little grandiose," she laughs,
"but there was truth about reconciliation in what he said. It became my goal to shoot footage in Hanoi, the forbidden territory, to give faces and voices to people

whose stories we've oever heard."

Within six weeks of the first trip, she gave up ber rented Beverly Hills house. sold everything she owned at a garage sale, got a BBC cameraman who was willing to defer his pay and went back to Vietnam. In the five and a half years that followed, she was essentially bomeless. She lived on a futon in her film lah and traveled to Vietnam 12 more times, recruiting and training a Vietnamese crew. Oliver Stone



Tiana Alexandra: "My heart is with the people of Vietnam."

The crew followed her on emotional meetings with relatives such as her uncle, a former minister of defense for South Vietnam, who was thought killed in o Commu-nist re-education camp, and adult children of Vietnamese women and American Gis -none of whom had ever met their fathers. (Their freekled faces, black skin or blue eyes

make them outcasts in Vietnamese society.) There are interviews with two young women who survived My Lai. Also included are such notables as General Vo Nguyen Giap, whose North Vietnamese forces defeated the French and the Americans, and General William Westmoreland, former commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Throughout the film, Alexandra as interviewer, narrator and subject, is sensitive, charming, and funny. As she bridges the divisions inside herself and her displaced family, "From Hollywood to Hanoi" transcends the personal to become a universal

story of modern immigrant trauma. "My heart is with the people of Viet-nam," she says. "We need to know how they've survived since the war and what's going on in postwar Vietnam. In modern history, there's never been a country that survived a major war without being rebuilt.

and Michael ("Roger and Me") Moore How do you bomb a country for decades helped finance the film.

How do you bomb a country for decades and spend billions of dollars to destroy it and spend billions of dollars to destroy it and then rurn around and forget about it?" After winning Best of Telluride at the Telluride Film Festival and a nomination for best film at the Sundance Film Festival. Alexandra accepted a professorship at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, where she will teach film this summer, and, for the first time in more

than five years, she will have a home.
"I'd like to inspire other filmmakers not to be afraid of tackling nonfiction films," she says, "because most of us are sick and tired of slick Hollywood movies. The studios are all going to go bankrupt making 540 million films that nobody wants to see. We could make 40 nonfiction films with what they spend oo one movie and entertain people, as we illuminate them. As filmmakers, we would be more fulfilled and a whole generation of people would be better for it."

"Let the public decide," Alexandra says. "Is 'Rambo' a real movie, or is 'From Hollywood to Hanoi' a real movie?" Her answer is definitive: 'I'm making

Linda Hene Solomon is a free-lance writer living in Paris.

PEOPLE

'Spider Woman' Leads With 7 Tony Awards

"Kiss of the Spider Woman" was the big winner up at the Tony Awards presentation with seven awards, including best musical.

Angels in America: Millennium Approaches" won four awards, including best play, and "Tommy," the rock opera by The Who, won five. Other awards were: Ron Leibman, best actor in a play ("Angels"); Brens Carver and Chita Rivera, best actor and actress in a musical ("Spider Woman"), and Madeline Kahn, best actress in a play ("The Sisters Rosensweig").

Will it never end? The Daily Express reports that Prince Charles "gave up" his relationship with Camilla Parker Bordes long before the publication of an alleged conversa-tion between them that titillated Britain. The paper quoted an un-identified friend of the prince as saying that the relationship ended in 1991 — long before Charles and— Princess Diana separated in December 1992. The conversation suppos-edly took place on Dec. 18, 1989.

The singer Mariah Carey married the boss - Sony Music's president, Thomas Mottola - in a New York ceremony attended by Barbra Streisand, Bruce Springsteen, Billy Joel and Dick Clark.

Yavoi Toda, a 25-year-old Japanese, has won Belgium's Queen Elisabeth violin contest. . . . Simone Pedroni, a 24-year-old Italian, took top honors in the Ninth Van Cli-hurn International Piano Competition at Fort Worth, Texas.

The script for the Palme D'Orwinning movie "The Piano" shows remarkable similarities to a book published in 1938, according to the Sunday Star in Auckland. Jane Campion, a New Zealander, conceived, wrote and directed the film, which shared the award in Cannes, France, last month. The Star said the script was similar to a 1938 Jame Mander oovel. The Story of a New Zealand River." Mander died in 1949; her estate holds the copyright.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED Appears on Pages 13 & 15

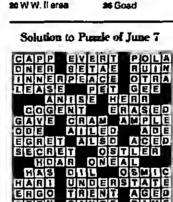
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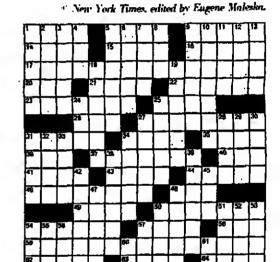
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BOOKS

LENIN'S TOMB: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire By David Remnick. Illustrated. 576 pages. \$25. Random House. Reviewed by

Herbert Mitgang I T is winter 1991 in the Soviet Union. The spirit of the Mos-eow Spring of 1988 is gone. Mukhail S. Gorbachev is still leading the country, but the generals, the military-industrial complex, the Com-

KGB are demanding that he turn away from his reform-minded advisers, and he does so. Something is in the air. In the land of revolution, the modem counterrevolution that introduced eat its own children.

munist Party apparatus and the

During a session of the Congress of People's Deputies that winter, David Remnick, a correspondent for The Washington Post, encoun-ters Gorbachev on a stairway and blurts out, "Mikhail Sergeyevich, they say you are moving to the right." Gorhachev, his mouth clenched in "a pained, irone grin." says that the truth is he leels "as if I am goiog around in circles."
In "Lenin's Tomb." Remnick,

oow a staff writer for The New Yorker, has a great story to tell and he tells it brilliantly. During the four crucial years of counterrevolution, attempted coup and transition that led to the ascen-dancy of Boris N. Yeltsin, Remark

was present at the creation of the The title of his book is metaphor-ical; it doesn't really cover the dictatorial reigns of Lenin and Stalin.

Rather, it's about the disenchantment of many Russians with the theories and practices underlying

Remnick's book goes a long way toward answering the tantalizing question of why Americans and Europeans were once so enamored of Gorbachev and then, suddenly and surprisingly, discovered that he wasn't a man for all seasons io an unshackled Soviet Union. He desembes the Soviet breakup through the eyes of dissidents as well as of Stalinist stalwarts, and then supplies his own interpretations.

In a few straightforward lines that sum up the theme of "Lenin's Tomb." Remnick writes: "Once the regime eased up enough to permit a full-scale examination of the Soviet ed that an attempted military coup past, radical change was inevitable. was possible by anti-reformist ele-Once the System showed itself for ments: Gorbacher wouldn't be-

what it was and had been, it was During the near-fictional high noon in the summer of 1991 for the

two leading personalities in the book, Gorbachev was first restored by his rival, Yeltsin, and then discarded into the dustbin of history. How could this happen to the highly intelligent yet implacable leader of the counterrevolution? The answer that appears to emerge from Remnick's well-sourced book is that Gorbachev wanted to recreate communism with a human face, a contradiction in terms that, given the record of seven decades of rigid state

planning, could not work. By contrast, Yeltsin had a better sense of what was really going on in the country. He and others detect-

lieve it Remnick is clearly a Yeltsin admirer.

and His Brothers."

He writes, "Despite the Kremlin's best efforts, the history of Soviet politics will show it was Yeltsin -vain_comic_clever, crude - who accelerated the essential step in po-WHAT THEY RE READING

Communist Party monulith The high point of "Lenio's omb" is the attempted coup Tomb' against Gorbachev, and Remnick delivers the details excitingly, including Yeltsin's courageous take-

Lord Young, executive chairman of Cable & Wireless PLC and former government trade minister, is reading Thomas Mann's "Joseph "It is probably the best book I have ever read. It is terribly long and I tend to like long books. It is a simple story out of the Bible and it gives a vivid impression of life at that time." (Erik Ipsen, 1HT)

and cannons. There are a few minor shortcom-

> in these momentous events. And though he touches upon it, he might well bave placed more importance on the lingering signifi-cance of the tens of millions of cosualties suffered by the Russians during the Great Patriotic War, as they call World War II, and the continuing effects of the Cold War

of his narrative and forgetting that

he's an observer, not a participant

on the people and government.
In addition to talks with the major personalities in the Politburo, the most original contributions in "Lenin's Tomb" are the author's interviews with historical figures or their widows and children, both famous

litical reform: the shattering of the charge role in the face of the tanks and little known, who somehow sur vived the Stalinist purges.
For example, Remnick describes

ings of style and substance. Rem- a visit with Dr. Yakov Rapoport, now 91 and the only survivor of the little too often, breaking the stride 1953 "doctors' plot." In that time of anti-Semitic paranoia at its worst, Stalin ordered the KGB to kill prominent doctors, most of poisoning Kremlin leaders. Rapo-port was let out of prison only after

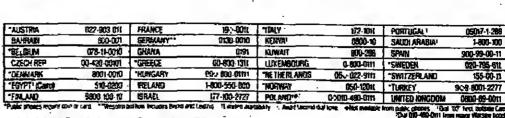
Stalin died later that year. There are, literally, hundreds of such interviews with legislators, historians, militarists, nationalists, journalists and party apparatchiks. They make "Lenin's Tomh" an engrossing and essential addition to the buman and political literature of our time,

Herbert Mitgang is on the staff of The New York Times.



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